THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

February 19, 1949

MACARTHUR'S SPY STORY

AN EDITORIAL

Yugoslavia, China And Snow

William Steinhaus

Peiping's New Look

Andrew Roth

Hongkong Tends To Business

Robert J. McGrath

JAILORS' DILEMMA

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 112 GY300 NUMBER 12

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Praise For Stuart

To The Editor:

You should be congratulated on your exceedingly intelligent editorial in the February 5 *Review* on US Ambassador J. Leighton Stuart. Shortly after Dr. Stuart's appointment I saw General George C. Marshall in Nanking and he asked what I thought of his selection of Dr. Stuart as his "team-mate." I replied: "You made a masterly choice." I still abide by that observation.

Ambassador Stuart has done superbly in the best interests of the United States and of China, considering the extraordinarily difficult times and conditions which he has had to face.

Sino-American relations are fast approaching a most crucial stage. It will take first-class minds and spirits like that of Dr. Stuart so that the best of American interests can be adequately and effectively represented in China and that the relationship between these two great peoples can remain on a genuinely friendly basis for their mutual benefit and the benefit of lasting world peace. Like you I also hope that America will send here her very best not only to man the diplomatic front but all fronts, economic, cultural, educational and religious. The small and mediocre, the near-sighted and narrow-minded cannot have any place in the New China that is emerging!

HUBERT S. LIANG

Shanghai
February 6, 1949

Rosy Future?

To The Editor:

In your editorial, "Postwar Development" in the February 5 *Review*, you expressed undue optimism regarding the settlement of the Civil War in China in favor of the Communists.

I have no affiliation with either the CP or the KMT. I think China under the rule of the CP will for a time be better, but the ultimate result is pure guesswork. The sweeping victory of the CP is but one phase of China's social revolution, and China has had many social and political revolutions during the past few decades and still she is no better off economically, socially or politically. Can the Communists work wonders?

When the Nationalists started their Northern Expedition they blew almost the same bugle and propagated the same slogans which the Communists are using today. At that time the masses looked upon the KMT as a shower in time of drought. The masses were then optimistic about China's future just as they are today about the coming of the Communists. After 20 years of corruption and inefficiency, the KMT has become a passing fashion. Only God knows what the people will think of the Communist rule 20 years hence. I have many reasons for my pessimism regarding Communist rule over China.

The Communists are too idealistic and theoretical. They dream of a Utopian

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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China. They wish to overhaul China overnight without taking into consideration China's social, political and economic background. We should understand that the people will reject Communist interference in their ways of life. Any sudden change in old-established customs and traditions will upset the minds of the masses.

At the beginning of their campaign the Communists brought the country districts under their rule and showed honest and efficient management in their government. The life in the country is simple and economic activities are on a small-scale. Now the Communists are occupying China's large cities where the social and economic conditions are entirely different from those in country areas. Human nature is frail and subject to change under different circumstances. The Communists are no exception.

Good soil produces good crops. China's is not a good soil from which to expect good crops. China's soil must first be scientifically cultivated in order to produce abundant and good crops. Likewise, Chinese society must be re-educated socially to meet a new situation as created by the Communists. Education is a very slow process when a large part of the population is illiterate.

A rosy future for China as painted by you makes interesting reading. Let us pray that after 20 years we shall refer to you as China's most famous soothsayer. I hope that 20 years hence you will be able to say, "I told you so" with reference to your editorial.

L.Y.Y.

Shanghai
February 9, 1949

Refugee Beehive

To The Editor:

We, the students of Honan University, are on the verge of starvation. We cannot but appeal to the public for help.

We hate Mr. Yiao Tsung-wu, president of our school, who resigned during hard times at the university and escaped a month ago. We hate the Ministry of Education, which moved to Canton too hastily to give us, the refugee students, the necessary money to continue to sustain our lives.

Many groups of students have returned to their homes in Honan; others have been forced to sell their clothes and books in the Soochow markets in order to live. The university is as disturbed as a hive of bees: No new president has come; the school authorities, weak and incompetent, find no better way to deal with present difficulties. A week ago representatives of the Student Self-Control Body went to Shanghai to demand help from minor officials of the Ministry of Education. They returned disappointed, as there was no money in these officials' hands. Several times the local government has been requested to loan rice during this hard period, but there has been no answer. Now more than 2,000 students are facing terrible hunger.

We are poor refugee college students, without rich friends or relations here, and have no more things to sell. How can we live in the interim?

REFUGEE STUDENT.

Honan University
Soochow
February 11, 1949

Won't Move Again

To The Editor:

Our school has met with much misfortune since its journey from Kaifeng to Soochow last summer. We are homeless and all our things have been left behind in the "liberated area," even our books. However, how has our Government treated us? Most of the Govern-

ment institutions have been evacuated to South China and the noble and rich have escaped to Hongkong or Taiwan, leaving the poor to suffer from the war.

Recently we received our last relief funds from the Ministry of Education, GY1,000, which is almost useless due to the economic panic. The school authorities sent representatives to appeal to Acting President Li last week, but it was no use. Some of our schoolmates have gone back to their homes despite the dangers because they were so hopeless, and we have had to beg to keep alive during this interim period.

If the Government is unable to protect us, we will be ready for another party to deliver us and would not move to any other place even if the Communists were to come. We hope the Government will hear this and help us.

PETER WANG.

Honan University
Soochow
February 9, 1949

Open Letter

To The Editor:

I am enclosing for publication in your *Review* an open letter to President Yiao of National Honan University.

To President Yiao Tsung-wu:

Over the past few weeks the students of the National Honan University have wondered about your whereabouts. We searched Nanking, Shanghai, Wusih, Hangchow, etc., but could get no news. We questioned if you had departed this world. We deplored your soundless death, because you had been the president of our university. We shed tears, for you took with you the subsidy for 3,000 students and teachers.

We now find, according to a reliable source, that you are now in Taiwan and have a good position. Though at first we could hardly believe this to be true, it has been confirmed by the dean of our university. The news was like daggers in our hearts.

Seven months ago when the Reds attacked Kaifeng, you deserted the students and teachers of the university to flee to Soochow. We endured this, and followed after you despite flying bullets and shells. In Soochow, three months later, we faced hard times a second time due to the buying panic and the so-called "currency reform." Now a third time, with the removal of the government to Canton, and your flight to Taiwan, our 3,000 students and teachers face starvation.

Dr. Yiao, you are the president of our university, a scholar educated in Germany, a prominent professor in China. We know now that you have deceived and cheated your students and teachers. As you sit in comfort in Taiwan, never forget those left behind you who are cursing you from the depths of their hunger and misery.

SPIRIT C.

Soochow
February 11, 1949

Honan Refugees

To The Editor:

Many, many refugees have become poor beggars. Some of them left different parts of rural Honan during the civil war and moved to Hankow, leaving behind their homes and possessions except what they could carry. These poor people want food and clothing, but there is none to give them.

Hankow, once called the Chicago of the Orient, is the central big city of China. People live in luxury here, playing cards and drinking wine in warm houses, while outside refugees and beggars lie on the pavements in the bitter cold. These miserable people dream only of the spring and mild weather which will make life bearable. If only the Civil War would end, the bloody battlefields could once again become green fields.

These unhappy refugees should have learned by now that there was no need for them to flee and they should not have been afraid of remaining in their homes.

T.S.C.

National Hupeh Teachers' College
Hankow
January 30, 1949

Malthus And Judd

To The Editor:

J. R. Kaim's article, "A Plea for Malthus," in the January 29, 1949 *Review* covers both a timely and controversial subject. Personally I stand for birth control because the biggest problem in the world today so far as the problem of population is concerned is the insufficient reproduction of the fittest. If, along with restrictions on the reproduction of the unfit, there is an accompanying increase in the birth-rate of the fit, it would be a good thing. Education would solve the problem to a large extent, for at the present time food and sex are the only concerns of the poor.

Honestly, Congressman Judd's letter in your letter column in the same issue is hardly worth an answer but the imperialistic tone of the letter and the loopholes in what he says compel me to put him wise. He does not seem to know ECA is primarily intended for the economic relief of war-stricken countries, and I wonder why he wants ECA to be protected by a military program. It should also be pointed out to this congressman who objected to the Stilwell-Marshall

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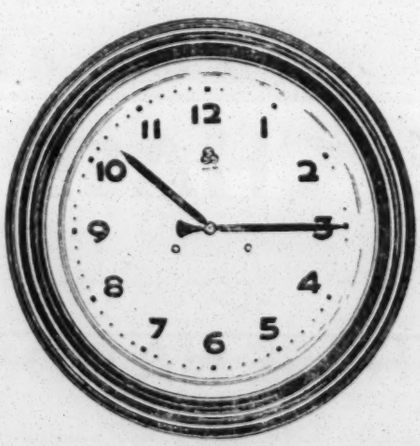

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China policy that over two billions of US dollars worth of aid has been given to China by the United States since VJ Day. I would just like to tell Mr. Judd that if another four billions of US dollars is given to China to make the Chinese cannon fodder for the US in her anti-USSR policy, there will certainly be another Boxer Rebellion in China.

CHINESE JOHN THE BAPTIST

Chengtu, Szechuen
February 4, 1949

Blindly Utilized

To The Editor:

During this period in China we young people are facing a most difficult situation. This is especially so on the eve of the evacuation of the Nanking-Shanghai area by government troops. We are forced to cry out thoughts which are in the minds of so many of us.

Our only fixed principle has been patriotism. So, with pure and eager hearts we are only desirous of our country growing and prospering. Of course, we have no wish to see the Civil War continue. However, we have none of the power needed to bring it to a halt. On the contrary, we would be blindly utilized by any political force in power.

Now, we are forced to express our fears. Though we are going hungry we still obey the orders of "this government." Thus, isn't it possible that we may unfortunately be chosen for punishment (清算) by "that government" tomorrow? If the Communists cross the Yangtze, undoubtedly, we would obey their orders. Then, isn't it possible that we may be pointed out as criminals by "this government" in the future?

SUN WEN-HAI

Wusih, Kiangsu
February 7, 1949

Independent Taiwan

To The Editor:

Having read your editorial of January 29 on the future of Taiwan I am prompted to say something about the lot of our beloved island, which your editorial analyzed very clearly, and about the three pressure groups on the island. I fully agree with you that the 6,500,000 Formosans are against both the Kuomintang and the Communists. And I am one of them.

In your editorial you stated that "while there are many plausible sounding arguments which those favoring separation from the mainland have advanced, the idea on the whole is not feasible." Ideologically speaking, we Formosans have been regimenting ourselves with our most respected leader, Dr. Thomas W. I. Liao's *Formosanism*, in which we have many opportunities to support our independence movement. We are determined to get our independence under Dr. Liao's leadership.

In your conclusion, you state that "the overall prospect for an independent Taiwan to survive either economically or militarily" is difficult to imagine with an unfriendly China. Of course we can understand your reasoning, but I fear you do not understand the real situation. Under Dr. Liao we have our foreign policy, economic readjustment, agrarian reform, industrial reconstruction, system of education, a Romanized national language, etc. This is believed by all Formosans to be the one way to survive.

I wish to say that I am very grateful for the *Review*, which is practically the only paper supplying us with all the news outside this iron-curtained forbidden paradise island.

L. A. S.

Taipak, Formosa
February 8, 1949

No Uniform-Fee

To The Editor:

For half a year I have been reading the *Review* regularly in the local library. I like the magazine, for to me it represents the views of the people. I have a problem of my own which I wish you would publish.

As a teachers' college student, I am preparing myself for a teaching career; this has been my ambition for a long time. But the pocket-money and uniform-fee which the Government promises to give us students each year has not been forthcoming, nor have we had any news as to why we have not received this help.

I don't know why the Ministry of Education is delaying on this matter, but if it is because of the Civil War, I wish someone would remind these officials not to overlook education, even though the military situation may be serious. Education is a permanent affair and should be supported no matter what develops in the battlefield.

L. T. I.

National Kweiyang Teachers College
Kweiyang, Kwangsi
January 26, 1949

Peasant Revolutions

To The Editor:

Being a peasant's son and having lived in rural villages for years, I have always been greatly interested in rural life. Ever since the advent of the Civil War, my country has been on the verge of bankruptcy, and the peasants feel this bankruptcy very much. I am very much concerned about the conditions of the Chinese peasant and hope that there will be some change which will improve life in the villages.

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Some days ago I had the opportunity of reading C.C. Lin's, "China's Peasant Revolutions" (*Review*, January 8, 1949) in which Prof. Lin states that China's peasant revolutions never achieved complete victory because the leaders eventually betrayed the interests of the class from which they had come. Professor Lin further suggests that now is the time for China to start a new way of life. I am very satisfied with the writer's opinions and am grateful to him for giving me ideas on this very important subject. I long for a new society to replace the old—a society in which all the people can live in peace and safety.

During such a critical time as the present, everything is changing from day to day. It is my hope that the government—no matter what its composition—will have learned the lesson mentioned in Professor Lin's article and not allow history to repeat itself.

T.Y.Y.

Nanchang, Kiangsi
January 28, 1949

Inspiring Books

To The Editor:

Those who have enjoyed reading *Human Destiny* and *Peace of Mind* may find two other small volumes by two Friends of Maverford College very interesting, inspiring and informative.

The books are *On Beginning from Within* by Douglas V. Steere, published by Harper and Brothers; and *Spirit in Man* by D. Elton Trueblood, published by the Stanford University Press in America and the Oxford University Press in England.

Both Friends show us not only a way, but the best way, to deal with our current life problems which persistently confront all reflecting souls. Speaking from experience and conviction, they explain to us what, where, when and how our ability to be "masters of the situation" actually is and potentially can be in this changing world.

One who, disturbed by environmentalism and torn between trust in God and despair with man, is doubtful as to what may become of the trend of history would meet a new light through the common channel of these books and see the infinite significance of every individual and the unbound future of mankind with the problem of freedom and of will vigorously considered in a Christian spirit.

To quote Professor Jones, "We know enough about actual conservations to predict with assurance the conservation of whatever *ought* to be conserved in order to make the universe *intelligible* and *significant*."

To the human being that meditates and thinks hard, in the opinion of Professor Steere, there can be not only solutions to our problems, but also creations of what seem to be impossible.

The two Christian teachers and leaders give us directions to supreme guidance which is very much needed today. Their lectures are proven timely even in our chaotic China. It is hoped that good translations of them will be done.

J. USANG LY.

Shanghai
February 3, 1949

Advises Pres. Li

To The Editor:

It is more than a month since President Chiang made his New Year's message. Not only has peace not yet been attained, but the danger of further war is increasing. Peace seems to be only a mirage, for the contesting parties apparently do not believe it can be reached now. However, this suicidal war will be brought to an end this year. The people will get their wish.

Let us dissect today's crisis and we find that it is a result of yesterday's sowing. The corruption of the KMT lost them many chances to reform. The KMT now is like an idle student going up for an examination. Being the enemy of the people means that they must confess their crimes before the people. The pangs of their conscience should make them repent.

Chiang has secluded himself from the government and has passed on his duties to Li Tsung-jen, a man of no small intelligence. There are a few suggestions I would like to present him with:

1) Watch for an opportune time. Peace is now in sight and you must find a way to get perpetual peace.

2) The way General Fu Tso-yi managed Peiping is best, and if you can do this for the entire country, it will rescue the people from the fire.

3) Few men are great enough not to think of themselves. I hope that you will try to forget about your own personal fortunes and boldly start for Peiping. Then glorious peace will come to you.

T. L. LEE.

Sian, Shensi
February 5, 1949

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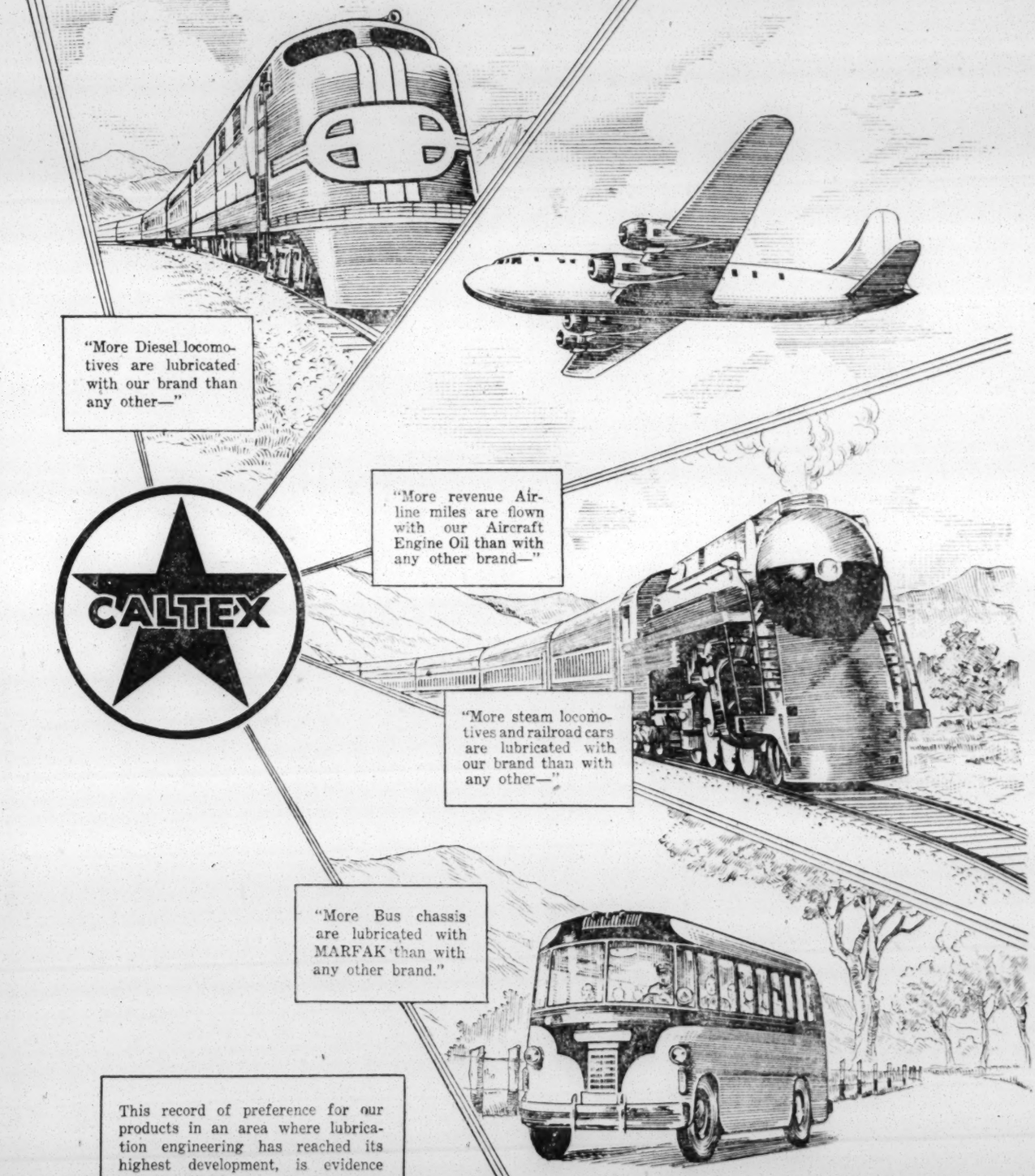

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MacArthur's Spy Thriller

ONE of the most sensational stories of the Japanese occupation was released last week by General Douglas MacArthur's headquarters. The tale, allegedly exposing the activities of a prewar Far Eastern Russian spy ring, would do justice to a Hollywood scenario writer. As an absorbing exciting story, it is excellent. However, like many mystery stories it appears—on the basis of accounts published by the *Associated Press*—to have a few weak spots in the plot.

According to MacArthur's 32,000 word report, the Japanese discovered that a German newspaperman, Richard Sorge, was running a most successful Russian spy ring in Japan and China in the years between the two world wars. Working closely with Sorge, MacArthur alleges, were two foreign journalists, Agnes Smedley and Gunther Stein. The Japanese broke up the ring, MacArthur says, at the beginning of the Pacific War. Sorge was hanged, as was a Japanese confederate, while other members of the ring — excluding those who died in jail — were given varying prison terms.

One of the first weaknesses of MacArthur's plot is that it apparently comes exclusively from Japanese sources. MacArthur found the official Japanese court and secret police records of the case, and it is upon these documents that the report is based. It should be pointed out that the individual Japanese responsible for compiling this information were officials of a government with which the United States has not yet signed a peace treaty officially ending a state of war. Some of these officials have since been purged by MacArthur himself as undesirables.

The original Japanese records presumably have been in MacArthur's hands for the last three years. One might, therefore, be justified in wondering why the General has waited until this particular moment to release this information to the public. It seems hardly likely that it has taken MacArthur this long to write his report. While one can only guess at the possible motives behind his action, there may be a clue or two in the report itself. The Japanese investigators, MacArthur says, felt satisfied that the spy ring was localized in Japan and China and had no connection with other Russian espionage activities in different parts of the world. However, MacArthur's report, according to *AP*, says tag ends of the network still may be in world capitals.

The *AP* story goes on to say: "Many of the minor figures in the ring were released as political prisoners. The Army report indicates that maybe that would not happen if the Americans had it to do over again. At that time, it said, few people had the idea that 'a Soviet spy who had worked against the Japanese might later work against the United States.' Apparently the army report was intended to warn the US to be on the lookout for spying here (in America). Beware, it says, of United States employees who even show sympathy with the Communist Party. It says that 'party sympathy is enough to develop a high-class agent and spy.' Still 'at large', it says, are American-born Miss Smedley and Gunther Stein, a German who now may be an American and who was a temporary but 'top level member' of the Tokyo ring from 1936 to 1938."

If one reads these last two paragraphs carefully, it is easy to see that they actually have little to do with this story. They consist mostly of "advice" from MacArthur to the American people and Government. One is almost led to believe that MacArthur, after re-reading these Japanese documents, feels perhaps they had something in their trials, and that the US should take up where they left off.

We think Miss Smedley and Mr. Stein have grounds for libel on the basis of the words "at large" alone. This expression, through constant usage in America, has acquired a criminal connotation and appears only on police blotters or in newspaper stories of criminals who have escaped from jail or who have not yet been arrested following a crime. "At large" definitely implies that a warrant for arrest has been sworn out before an American court and that the police are in the process of looking for the person concerned. These two people, as MacArthur could have discovered if he had taken the trouble to investigate something besides a bunch of reports left behind by discredited Japanese officials, have been living in New York for the past several years where they might have been contacted either by telephone or mail quite easily. Indeed, they are far from being fugitives from justice, which is what MacArthur has said.

Indicative of the spirit of much of the report is the phrase "American-born Miss Smedley." The usual expression, which is just as simple, is "an American, Miss Smedley." Using the other description implies that perhaps Miss Smedley is no longer an American. Such an implication is certain to implant in the minds of the newspaper-reading American public the idea that Miss Smedley, born an American, has probably taken up Russian or some other "foreign" citizenship since then and therefore must be an unreliable person. The same is true of the description of Mr. Stein, who is referred to by

MacArthur as "Gunther Stein, a German who now may be an American." The reader is led to believe that Stein is a German, but that he may have wormed his way into American citizenship.

Surely MacArthur's headquarters, famed for its efficiency, could have checked up on these facts before "rushing" its three-year-old report into print. In fact, the very vagueness of the evidence and the Army's lack of information about Miss Smedley and Mr. Stein makes the reader wonder if it knows what it is talking about. No details are given as to what these two journalists actually were alleged to have done, and, indeed, Mr. Stein is described as "a man about whom too little is known." If the Army had been interested in checking up on its facts, it could have found out, as most people with Far East background already know, that Mr. Stein is the author of a number of books on the Far East, including his well-known "The Challenge of Red China," and was a correspondent in China for the *Christian Science Monitor*, one of America's better known newspapers, for a number of years. A little elementary research also would have established the fact that he holds British citizenship. Surely it is not asking too much for the Army to find out something about a person's identity before it starts leveling such serious charges against his character and activities.

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ANOTHER *Associated Press* dispatch from Washington may give us a further hint as to why the report was released at this time. It says: "The US Army....said today that one of the ring's leaders may have started the story that the Chinese Communists 'were really not communists at all.' What is more, the report said, there are 'high American officials' who have heard that story repeated so often that they 'find it difficult to believe any other.' The Army identified....Miss Agnes Smedley (as) one of the 'early perpetrators, if not the originator, of the hoax that the Chinese Communists were really not communists at all, but only local agrarian revolutionists innocent of Soviet connections.' The report added: 'The harm has been done, but perhaps it could be mitigated if she is now exposed for what she is, a spy and agent of the Soviet Government.'"

Thus General MacArthur delivers his opinion of the Chinese Communists, a group with whom he has never talked or whose areas of control he has never visited. Anyone who has read Miss Smedley's books or articles will immediately see that her estimate of the Chinese Communists has little in common with what MacArthur says it is. Obviously, the General has not read any of her books on China. "High American officials," he says, have heard this story so often that they "find it difficult to believe any other." MacArthur must think that his fellow American officials are a bunch of dopes. We doubt if there are any "high" officials who would be so simple-minded as to accept something as fact just because someone kept repeating it to them. However, there is a difference between high American officials and casual American newspaper readers and if MacArthur continues to call Miss Smedley a red the American public may come to believe she is one. The last sentence of the preceding paragraph is so malicious that it needs little comment. The General flatly says that she IS a "spy and agent of the Soviet Government." Such a charge requires documentary proof, which we have yet to see.

Press dispatches from Tokyo during the past few months have made it clear that General MacArthur has been most unhappy about how things are shaping up in China. There have even been indications that perhaps the American occupation authorities—or at least a certain group of these men — would like to interfere actively in China's Civil War in an effort to halt the Chinese Communists. Some people in Japan have made it quite clear that they would like to see Taiwan restored to Japan so that it can be kept from falling into the hands of the Reds.

As it has become obvious that the Chinese Communists are shortly to become a force to be reckoned with, many observers have begun to accept the idea of a change in government here as inevitable and to set about making preparations for the future. For three years the United States Government has been wandering about in confusion over China. It did not like the Kuomintang and it did not like the Communists. After an abortive attempt to get the two groups to compose their differences, America began to extend material and morale support to the Kuomintang. Now that this policy has obviously failed, the American Government and people are making various plans for the altered situation.

The attitude of the Government is still not entirely clear, but the views of many American individuals and organizations are crystallizing. US businessmen in China, for instance, are literally champing at the bit in their eagerness to explore the possibilities of trading with the Communists. Some of the Christian missionaries, including certain Catholic groups, are prepared to stay on in China to work if at all possible. Thus it would seem that, with a Communist victory virtually an accomplished fact which can hardly be changed, many of the basically anti-communist groups of Americans are prepared to recognize the inevitable and try to get along under changed conditions. Obviously, many Americans, who refuse to view communism

as anything but an earthly version of the devil's hell, are alarmed by this attitude on the part of their fellow Americans. Individuals such as William Bullitt, Walter Judd, and Alfred Kohlberg, plus various official groups, are doing their best to prevent the development of any attitude on the part of Americans which would lead to recognition of a Communist China or development of a policy of attempting to get along with a red regime here.

Miss Smedley and Mr. Stein have both written books about the Chinese Communists, giving their impressions of life in red areas. Needless to say, both, like a lot of other foreign newspapermen, have been greatly impressed by the efficiency, lack of corruption and other features of Chinese Communist administration. They have commented upon these matters, both in their books and in their public utterances. Today, more than ever, the American people, in a quandary about China and inclined to hope for the best, are looking to newspapermen and others with first-hand knowledge about the Chinese Communists. This would indeed be a psychological moment for those who desire chaos and anarchy in China to launch a smear campaign against all who would like to see the United States and China get along in a friendly fashion despite their ideological differences. If people like Miss Smedley and Mr. Stein can be discredited, it will be easier to convince the American public that China has joined the ranks of America's enemies and that anyone who thinks differently must be in the pay of Moscow. This threat may be particularly apparent to American correspondents now in China, who may think twice before exposing themselves to the same treatment now being given Miss Smedley and Mr. Stein.

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PERUSING the *Associated Press* account further, one finds that quite a bit of the information upon which the charges are based comes from Japanese who have been purged as fascists. It is hardly necessary to point out that in any honest court trial the lawyers and the judge and the jury are always very interested in the reliability of the witness and that if his testimony is to be allowed to stand unchallenged, his character must be proved to be good and his motives for giving evidence must be clearly established. Mitsusaburo Tamazawa, a purged Japanese prosecutor, claims that Sorge confessed the details of how the spy ring got its funds. Taizo Ota, a former ministry of justice official who also has been purged, claimed that records found in Sorge's possession showed where the information collected by the ring was sent.

In addition to being men of questionable integrity, their reports sound hardly reasonable. If Sorge were the "master spy" he is said to have been, it seems unlikely that he would confess so easily. There is the possibility—and considering the way the Japanese are known to work it is a very good possibility—that if such a "confession" actually took place it was obtained under torture, which would automatically make it worthless. It also seems unlikely that a

veteran "master spy" would keep about him incriminating records. It seems even more unlikely when one remembers that in prewar Japan the secret police kept a close watch upon all foreigners, especially newspapermen, and frequently searched their rooms, examined their mail and in other ways spied upon them.

Perhaps the most fantastic part of the whole report is revealed by still another *Associated Press* story from Washington which reads as follows:

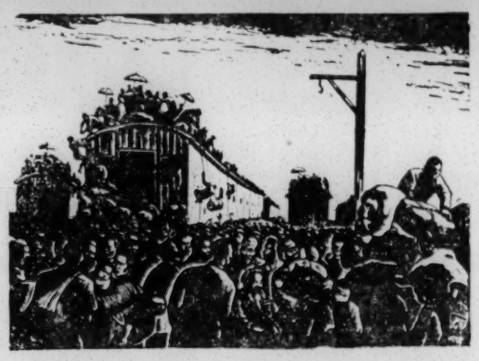
"The Army's report said: 'It is an interesting and perhaps surprising commentary on the quality of Japanese civil justice that in the midst of a bitter war the most dangerous spies ever captured were given the benefit of every protection offered by Japanese law. It also seems surprising that of the nearly 20 guilty men and women only two were sentenced to death, although under Japanese law every one of them had subjected himself to the death penalty!"

It would be interesting to know how MacArthur, who has spent a considerable portion of the past three years releasing stories of the horrors of Japanese prisons, of the feudalistic nature of their laws, of their various methods of torturing prisoners, of their extensive secret police systems, of how they ate American prisoners' livers, and of how they used captured soldiers for bayonette practice, can now be so sure that these particular trials were fair. We suppose that the Japanese records indicated that the trials were fair, but has MacArthur ever found any official Japanese prison or court records which indicated that any Japanese trials were not fair? The Japs have always been great sticklers for a nice front and always omitted minor details such as that torture had been applied in order to obtain confessions. Tojo, it may be remembered, went to his death upon the gallows proclaiming that Japan's war against

China and her allies had been a just one of self defense.

It seems that MacArthur is quite willing to take the word of the few remaining Japanese ex-officials that the trial was fair, that the spy ring actually existed and that two foreign newspapermen now living in America were important members, while at the same time he has been unwilling to take the word of any Japanese that trials involving any Allied prisoners were fair. It also seems that MacArthur is willing to overlook the suspicous point that more than one of the "spies" died in prison. Why did they die in prison? Could it be that they died, like a lot of other people, after being tortured? MacArthur has not questioned a single one of the alleged foreign members of the spy ring. Most of the supposed members are dead, while one still thought to be alive has conveniently disappeared. (According to MacArthur he "probably" has gone to Russia.) The other two foreign suspects, meanwhile, have been living in New York where they could have been questioned at almost any time during the past three years.

REFUGEES AT RAILWAY STATION



Woodcut by Tsai Ti-chih depicting crowds at Kweilin station in autumn of 1944 fleeing before Japanese advance.

* * *

ONE MORE point which seems worth mentioning in this connection is the question of General MacArthur's authority in this matter. The General has been living abroad for many years and may perhaps have grown accustomed to the habit of command. However, he should not have lost sight of the fact that the United States is governed by a constitution and a body of laws based on this constitution. These rules regulate the activities of the people and the government. There is a section of American law which provides for punishment of wrong doers. If the crime is against the United States, the federal government's lawyer prosecutes in a court of law.

There is no legal provision for trial in the press. The sensational release of such reports is not necessarily a function of MacArthur's headquarters. It would have been the General's duty to forward these Japanese documents to Washington when he found them if he believed that some American statute had been violated. The proper authorities in Washington would then have decided if criminal proceedings against Miss Smedley, the only American named, should be instituted. Even the decision of publication is not legally MacArthur's.

Strangely, there is not a word of any possible illegal activity being committed by Miss Smedley in the published versions of the report, except, perhaps, the one assertion that she is a Soviet Government agent. Even if that one charge were proved conclusively — and there is no evidence that MacArthur can prove it—Miss Smedley has not violated any law and is not subject to any penalty. She would merely have to register as a foreign agent.

As time goes on there is increasing evidence that General MacArthur has outlived his usefulness. He no longer functions as a general commanding a body of troops which carries out American Governmental instructions. He has become an independent sovereign, meddling in political, international and other affairs which are none of his concern. He now gives evidence that he is not particularly concerned about the methods he uses in attempting to gain his objectives. In the past this newspaper has suggested that it was time for him to retire. We repeat that suggestion now.

Forward and Backward

"The (Nanking) garrison command today ordered the *China Times* to suspend publication for one month as punishment....."—*China Press*, February 10, 1949.

"The restriction on the publication of (new) newspapers and periodicals.....has been lifted by the (Shanghai) Municipal Government....."—*China Daily Tribune*, February 10, 1949.

Jailers' Dilemma

FOR the past few months the problem of what to do with the large number of convicts detained in various institutions throughout Kuomintang-controlled areas has become increasingly serious. We recently commented upon the moving of some 50 prominent Japanese collaborators, jailed after VJ Day, to Taiwan, pointing out that it was hardly in the power of this regime to transfer the perhaps tens of thousands of prisoners to places of "safety."

We have also pointed out in the past that the prisoners in *official* Shanghai jails alone—estimated to be about 8,000 — are periodically reduced to starvation rations because the institutions run short of funds. With the disintegration of the Nanking regime, this problem has become critical and some solution must be found soon.

President Li Tsung-jen included an order for the release of political prisoners among the reform decrees which he promulgated shortly after taking over from the Generalissimo. So far, few if any important political prisoners have been released. The "Young Marshall," the best known of the lot, is still detained in Taiwan. Meanwhile, President Li's order reached Shanghai in the form of instructions from the Ministry of Justice to release *all* prisoners serving terms of less than 10 years. Compliance with such an order, obviously, means that hordes of hardened criminals, as well as some minor political prisoners, will be set free.

Local police authorities, who feel that they would be faced with a major crime wave if they carried out the order, have protested to the Shanghai courts. The latter have replied that the order must be carried out because Nanking "ordered it", and, besides, there is no money to feed the prisoners so some must be released to prevent their starving. What's more, the court desires room in the jails for some new prisoners they wish to lock up. Anyway one looks at this situation, it is clear that confusion reins supreme, with various officials and organizations, from the president on down, working at cross purposes.

As things stand now, one group of approximately 132 prisoners has been released in Shanghai under the amnesty proclamation of President Li. These people consist of puppet officials, opium and other narcotic offenders, and ordinary criminals charged with such crimes as manslaughter, theft, and burglary. About a thousand more of similar nature are scheduled to be turned loose soon. Another group, also reported released, consisted of 151 people, mostly drug addicts.

Meanwhile, the relatives of 71 labor leaders arrested here last year on political charges are attempting to secure paroles under President Li's decree, but so far have met with no success.

* * *

PRESIDENT Li ordered political prisoners released. His order, presumably altered and changed to suit the whims of various official bodies through which it passed, reached Shanghai in the form of instructions to release all prisoners serving sentences under 10 years. A few puppets have got out and so have a lot of unsavory characters such as robbers and drug traffickers. Now, the cops are delaying the move, pointing out that many habitual offenders, who probably will shortly be back in the arms of the law if released, should not be turned loose just after being convicted. The local court authorities have ordered the cops to hurry up, explaining that the jails are too crowded, that there is not enough food for the prisoners and that new prisoners are awaiting accommodations. At the same time, relatives of political prisoners—the guys whom the president had in mind when he issued the original order—are getting nowhere in their attempts to get the proper authorities to obey the law.

What a mess.

War Nerves?

"Catholic Priest Says Russia Is Fearful Of War"—Headline in *China Press* over story reading: "The priest was asked whether the Russians are fearful of war and replied: 'The people are pretty calm.'"

"Escaped Fliers State Stalin To Avoid War"—Headline in *China Press* over story reading: "The fliers..... said: 'Instead of making all their noise, they (American Communists) should volunteer to go to Russia for one month. They would be glad to return here and resign from the Communist Party.'"

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

England Recognizes Soviet Union

February 16, 1924.

During the first of February the announcement came via *Reuter's* that Russia had been recognized by Great Britain and this news carried interest of no little importance as far as the world was concerned. The recognition was followed by notes exchanged between the two countries requesting early conference for the examination of all outstanding questions, such as Russian debts, Anglo-Russian relations in the East, especially in India and Afghanistan, also trade schemes and Anglo-Russian treaties.

* * *

China's Army

It has been said that there are more than a million and a half men under arms in China today. There are probably even more, if one reckons with the *tu-fei, hunghutzes* or by whatever name the brigands may be called, for they are either groups of former soldiers or would-be-soldiers and are under some form of leadership and discipline, in many cases superior to those of the so-called regular troops.

The Chinese are not by nature militaristic. They have been compelled to fight throughout their long history, but they are of themselves a quiet and inoffensive people. In a country so large as China and with such diversified views and requirements as so wide an expanse of latitude and greatly varying physical features naturally involve, the need of an army is unquestioned, and it has a duty to perform as in every other country, even in peace-loving America, where the Army permitted by Congress is too small even for the functions required of it.

But in China there has grown up, largely since the days of Yuan Shih-kai and chiefly as the result of his ambition to be Emperor, a series of personal armies. Sometimes they are large enough to be under a super-*tuchun*, or at least a *tuchun;* often it is only a general and sometimes a colonel has his personal following. Most of these commanders are public prostitutes and sell themselves and their armies to whatever ambitious political venturer offers their price.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Russia And Sinkiang

February 18, 1939.

As geographical propinquity creates special relations and interests, Sinkiang naturally offers one of the best outlets for Soviet surplus products, as well as one of the best sources of raw material supply for Soviet Russia's ever-growing industries. Soviet geographical advantage has furthermore been made permanent by the many facilities for motor access and withal by the completion of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway in 1930, which brings the Soviets to within a few score miles of the western frontier of Sinkiang, as against some 1,600 miles to rail-head in China. Internal disorders contribute further to severing Sinkiang commercially from the rest of China.

The shift in economic power thus effected is not without its political implications. The Soviet Union is naturally deeply interested in the stability of the local administration in Sinkiang, upon which the prosperity of its trade depends, and greatly desires a regime which is friendly to it. The preponderance of Soviet influence in Sinkiang, both economically and politically, is an unconcealable fact. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that when the sovietization and military conquest of Sinkiang by the Soviet Union were rumored at one time in certain quarters, the Soviet government organ Izvestia, under date of January 24, 1935, saw fit to state categorically that "the Soviet Union has always been opposed to the usurpation of foreign lands and ardently respects the independence, the integrity and sovereignty of the whole of China, including Sinkiang, which we consider as an inalienable part of the Republic of China."

Peiping's New Look

Andrew Roth

JUST after landing in one of the last planes to reach pre-Communist Peiping I met an old friend who commented, "You're just in time to do another 'Ten Days That Shook the World,'" referring, of course, to John Reed's brilliant narrative about the Bolshevik seizure of power in November, 1917.

In the long run, the impending Communist victory in China will probably shake the world, and it has apparently already tipped the world balance enough to encourage Stalin to launch a peace offensive apparently with the idea that now he can negotiate a peace of equals.

In fact, however, the first period of Communist control in the presumed future capital of the most populous communist-led nation in the world has been curiously undramatic. In part this is due to the fact that Peiping was not seized by storm either from within or without, but surrendered by agreement on January 22. Even the drama of surrender evaporated as the Communist army stayed outside the city until amost all the Nationalist troops had marched out. Then, on January 31, they marched in without any advance announcement or fanfare. What has occurred in Peiping underlines the distinction that, while the shift in power in China is as revolutionary as anything that happened in the French or Russian revolutions, it is being executed, not by armed civilians, but by a trained peasant army hardened by 22 years of fighting, and is being fought not on barricades but on battlefields.

* * *

THESE first days in Peiping have been significant chiefly as a sign of things to come. The first dramatic event was an impressive all-day parade on February 3 of troops being moved from the Peiping-Tientsin area to southern battlefields. The units which traversed the city were highly mobile with hundreds of newly captured American trucks pulling largely Japanese artillery ranging as high as six-inch Howitzers. The Red Army also has some Russian trucks, but these weren't paraded.

The most impressive aspect of the parade was not the materiel but the men. Although recruited from the same peasant stock and—with the exception of those wearing fur caps—clad in the same faded yellow padded uniforms as the Nationalists, the Communist troops look very different. The average Nationalist recruit looks dazed; the Communist soldier looks purposeful. This is, of course, a product of their indoctrination which teaches them that they are what their name implies: The People's Liberation Army. The seriousness with which they take themselves was discovered by two students who asked some Communist soldiers, "Are you (Communist General) Lin Piao's troops?" "No," was the reply. "We are the people's troops."

A very large section of Peiping turned out or was turned out by its guilds and associations to greet the incoming army. About the only unrestrainedly enthusiastic group was the students, who are now overwhelmingly pro-Communist although recruited from the middle and upper classes. They sang songs and danced folk dances and cavorted in the streets in masquerade costumes. Although it is possible to discount this as youthful enthusiasm, it is noteworthy that the Peiping student movement has frequently served as a national conscience. In 1919 and 1925 they sparkplugged the Nationalist movement and in 1936 gave considerable impetus to the anti-Japanese movement.

Other Peiping residents, while impressed by the parade, were not as enthusiastic. Peiping is a blase city proud of its name as China's most cultured and beautiful city. Furthermore, the long suffering Chinese are a skeptical and pragmatic people who consider the government a persistent evil and judge governments not by their names or programs but by whether they allow people to prosper.

One liberal foreigner returned home to tell her cook excitedly, "The Communists have arrived!" The cook answered sourly, "Prices are still high."

But prices are coming down, partly because Peiping has been reunited with its hinterland. The electricity and water supply is improved and trams are functioning again. The eight o'clock curfew is ended. Most people are impressed by the exemplary behavior of the Communist troops.

The takeover has been effected smoothly and almost imperceptibly. One day Peiping's best newspaper plant was turning out the Kuomintang's "*North China Daily*." The next day its newsboys were delivering to its subscribers the Communist "*People's Daily*." The paper, edited by one of China's foremost journalists, may become China's *Pravda*. All other newspapers except one kept running, but most thought it advisable to use the Communists' *New China News Agency* instead of the Kuomintang's *Central News Agency*.

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ONE reason the changeover has been so imperceptible is that the Communists—because their military successes have outstripped their political planning—are very short of trained staff. Therefore, they have generally taken over only the top posts of organizations acquired, leaving the rest to function as before for the present. Thus, the local police, which had been decapitated by the flight of its top half dozen Kuomintang-appointed chiefs, was taken over by half a dozen Communists, headed by General Tan Chen, clad in a padded cotton uniform too large for him and turned up at the sleeves.

"We don't know anything about running a city," he reportedly told his assembled newly acquired subordinates, "We only know how to run a village. We have to learn from you. But you have to learn politics from us." One of the first things he told policemen is, "The poor man is going to stand up now."

The Communists seem most practiced and expert at getting the poor man to stand up. This is no small accomplishment in China, where the daily struggle to stay alive and the feudal habit of agreeing with whatever is said by people above you has created a deeply-grained "slave mentality." The Communists made their first great effort at a February seventh labor meeting. On the platform, crossed Communist banners framed the pictures of Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh. About 20,000 workers marched and rode in from all over Peiping and the hinterland, including an impressive miners' delegation from Mentoukou. The grizzled labor leaders sat in the seats of honor. The speakers told them now they have a "people's government" they must work hard to strengthen

HILL PEOPLE

Yi People in Yunnan hills

and protect it against attempts by "American-inspired peace peddlers" to subvert it.

The Communists are fairly successful at stimulating the workers to considerable efforts in repairing railway lines and the like, not only because of propaganda, but because they set such a grueling example. They have already impressed Peiping by their hard work and direct, businesslike methods. On his first day in town, the Communist official in charge of currency distribution spoke to the assistant manager of the Government money printing plant for 20 minutes, at the end of which he promoted him to manager and started the plant printing "people's notes" instead of the fast depreciating Gold Yuan. "Such a decision would have taken two days of talk and an approval from Chiang Kai-shek under the Kuomintang setup," commented one experienced onlooker. He later reported that this Communist official worked right into the night and then slept a few hours on the floor beside his desk.

* * *

THERE is a strong puritanical streak in the Chinese Communists. General Yeh Chien-ying, a leading Communist general and now mayor of Peiping, wears a worn blue cotton uniform without insignia. The soldiers are not permitted to buy anything for themselves, but have their basic needs supplied by the Army. Communist political workers, asked how they spend their evenings, reply seriously. "In self-criticism."

The Communists are extremely security conscious, not permitting any photographs except by those with military permits. No one has discovered how to obtain these except official Communist Army photographers. When the delegation of peace delegates from Nanking asked permission to fly here, it was granted, but when the plane circled over the city—presumably against instructions—it was fired at by ackack guns. Chinese newspapermen who accompanied the delegates but hadn't been cleared by the Communists were kept out at the airfield.

A seemingly exaggerated security consciousness has led this city to become almost entirely isolated by air from Kuomintang-held China. The Communists seem to fear these planes may be vehicles for military or political espionage. Similar fears presumably caused the sealing off of radio and telegraphic connections in Tientsin and other Communist captured cities. However, in Peiping the bamboo curtain has not yet descended. You can cable what you like and call up friends in Shanghai and Nanking by radiotelephone.

* * *

ONE of the knottiest problems faced by Peiping's new rulers is handling foreigners and foreign relations. Peiping has 2,000 foreigners and numerous consulates housed in what were embassies when Peiping was previously China's capital.

The Communists have the somewhat chip-on-the-shoulder attitude of a group which governs 200,000,000 people without being officially recognized by any power. In Tientsin, the Communist mayor, while seeing them as individuals, refused to receive any foreign consuls officially, including the Soviet, reportedly saying, "Since you do not recognize us, we cannot very well recognize you." This indicates diplomatic inexperience, since diplomatic recognition and consular status are not linked in international law.

The Communists also have the hesitant and suspicious attitude toward foreigners of a people who have too long lived in inland isolation, feeling the anti-Communist world was actively against them and the Communist world only favored them passively. While foreigners have not been molested in any way, they are required to have road passes for travel between Peiping and other Communist-held cities. But no office to issue foreigners road passes has yet been set up in Peiping. A similar absence of requisite apparatus is considered in informed circles to be the cause of Communist reluctance to let British ships start trading at Tientsin. Similarly, foreign newspapermen have been unable, despite repeated and persistant efforts, to find any Communist official of even secondary rank willing to talk to them.

The main burden of Communist resentment, of course, is directed against America. As nationalists, the Chinese Communists share the general resentment against the United States for interfering in Chinese affairs to aid an unpopular and reactionary regime. As Communists, they have an extra antagonism against America as the powerhouse of anti-communism. They regard American consulates as virtually enemy bases within their territory and consider American newsmen as possible spies. In Mukden, the American Consulate radio was not only sealed—like other consular radios—but also confiscated, according to reports received here.

At the same time, the Communists are apparently troubled by the realization that if China is to be modernized rapidly, the only large-scale source of industrial goods is the US.

The recent seizure of American flour in Tientsin is indicative of the current fiction. Although the underlying motive of American economic aid to China is to strengthen it against communism, food and medical supplies have aided the people. Postwar relief distribution demonstrated that allowing the Kuomintang to distribute it resulted in most going into the officials' pockets. Therefore, the US has insisted on the right to distribute the goods itself. This the Communists and many others have considered unwarranted interference in China's affairs. When the Communists took Tientsin, they seized 5,000 tons of American flour and distributed it without reference to American officials on the spot. Washington reacted by closing down its economic aid offices in Peiping and Tientsin.

* * *

WE have already experienced how easy it is for the Communists to arouse anti-American sentiment. Most correspondents wrote that although the students and some sections of organized workers were enthusiastic about the incoming parade, most Peipingites were reserved. The Communist news agency reported back the comments of *AP*'s Spencer Moosa mixed up with another *AP* story recalling the Japanese entrance into Peiping, and also Michael Keon's story, apparently doctored by the *UP* office. The impression created was that the writers had said the Japanese had gotten a better welcome. Vituperation began being poured on the heads of these two, "American imperialist newspapermen"—neither of whom is an American. Various groups demanded an apology by the writers or their expulsion. The significant aspect of this brief flurry is the deep pool of anti-foreignism upon which the Communists can draw and the tendency of non-Communist newspapers to vie with each other to hew to the Communist line.

Although the propaganda against "American imperialism" is very shrill, there are softer notes. A Communist soldier told an American professor recently: "We know about America. There is a small group of people there who want to kill us and a small group of people who want to help us. But the great majority doesn't know much about China and doesn't care." More significant, in Tientsin the name of Truman Road has been erased, but Roosevelt Road remains untouched.

Our Emphatic Officials

General Chen told reporters.....the meeting had decided to ban the firing of firecrackers during the Lunar New Year period, especially from 6:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m.....Traffic on the river outside of Woosung should be absolutely stopped from 6:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m.—*China Daily Tribune*.

Future evenings, *especially* and *absolutely*, that is, promise to be rather quiet.

EAT AT

Jimmy's

133 Nanking Road

Shanghai

Branch 11-3 Rue Montauban

Yugoslavia, China And Snow

William Steinhaus

WHEN the rift between Yugoslavia's Tito and the other Cominform countries became public knowledge, there was an almost instant sigh of relief from governments of the West. Not quite instant, because there was the fear that this might be nothing but another Communist ruse; a Trojan horse, left outside the battlements of the Eastern European countries for the naive Westerners to welcome as an offering of thanks, only to find too late that inside it were hidden men of hideous mien and plated armor destined to destroy the Western powers from within. But once satisfied that it was indeed a *bona fide* rift, they tumbled over themselves to secure the advantage. The vilification of Tito was modified. He was still called "Dictator," but he was conceded to be a dictator with whom the West could do business, who could be drawn out of the Soviet sphere. The American State Department and the British Foreign Office even had hopes of influencing him into western ways of thought and action.

Tito's pay-off was almost immediate. Trade between Yugoslavia and western Europe boomed, and brought to Tito welcome hard dollars and somewhat softer sterling. For his part, he dispensed with Soviet aid, cut—both actively and passively—many of his ties with Eastern Europe, and moved closer into the Anglo-American sphere.

Polish Counterpart

Satisfied that at last they had found a salient weakness in the Soviet's allies, the Anglo-American bloc moved into new fields. In September of 1948 they used their persuasion, through official, journalistic and broadcasting channels, on Gromulka, Vice-Premier of Poland and leader of the Polish Workers' Party. He was presented as the "Polish Counterpart of Tito," and his party was reported to be at loggerheads with Communist party members in Poland. Rebuffed by Gromulka, but still hot with elation at Tito's defection, members of the bloc turned to Hungary and Eastern Germany. Now, with nothing more accomplished, they are turning to China, sedulously seeking out the hints of disagreements and tensions within the coalition governments and Communist party of North China.

The western governments and press, however, have seriously misjudged the import of the Tito-Cominform rift. They have put it down to a nationalism that could not brook Soviet "interference" and Moscow direction. But in spite of the shortage of objective material, it is now increasingly apparent that the nationalism of Tito is chauvinistic not only in the Communist use of the word, but in the interpretation of the Oxford and Webster dictionaries—bellicose nationalism and foreign jingoism. Tito's deliberate fostering of anti-Hungarian sentiment among Yugoslavs can only be interpreted in this light. Anti-Hungarian sentiment has been encouraged in Yugoslavia much as the Kuomintang has encouraged anti-foreign feeling in China, and for the same purpose—to deliberately turn restlessness within the country away from the real issues. Tito's attempts to bring Albania and other Balkan countries under his wing reflect the same jingoism.

For in spite of an impressive beginning in industrial reconstruction, Yugoslavia's plans for a socialist state have met with great difficulties. Partly this can be blamed on an over-anxious "land reform" policy. But partly, and largely, it can be laid at the door of Tito who, having attained authority by legitimate use of force against the Germans and Yugoslav quislings, has sought to retain it by quieting the criticism of his early supporters.

Party Kept Small

Following the war, Tito saw to it that the Yugoslav Communist Party was kept small, far smaller in relation to the total population than the Communist parties of other Eastern European states, for the Communist Party offered the only organized left-wing opposition to his dictatorship, and was asking for more rank-and-file voice in policy. An Australian technician engaged in a Yugoslav factory found he could make no contact with the factory Communist group, so submerged had it become. Above all, there has been a stringent weeding out of all his opponents within the Communist Party, to such an extent that early refugees from his persecutions reported (*Telepress*, September 1948) that "to detain a Communist (in Yugoslavia) means greater merit to a policeman than to arrest....a Chetnik."

Tito's regime has become, not a l ftwing movement imbued with necessary nationalism, but a regime that is degenerating into a collusion with the very people the revolution was staged to oust. Tito himself has fallen into the compromises which power itself forces upon those who desire it. His strength is undoubted—he retains control of an army which is relatively well-equipped, but he is of necessity depending increasingly upon the army and the Rankovic police system and less and less upon the people. A dangerous position even for the most successful demagogue.

But if he has isolated his country from his Eastern European neighbors—itself disastrous because of their interrelated economies—he has at least provided the Western countries with a ray of hope. And now, to join the happy throng of those who read into the Tito-Cominform controversy an augury of weakness and strife within the socialist and Communist states of the world, comes no less a figure than—Edgar Snow.

The December 18 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* features an article by him entitled "Will Tito's Heretics Halt Russia?" (The *Review* of February 5 ran a condensed version). Snow's thesis is simple and unoriginal—that Yugoslavia has brought to an end the domination of Moscow in Communist countries, has asserted its nationalism, and is strong enough to maintain its truculent defiance of the Kremlin.

Postwar Trends

Yet throughout his more than 5,000-word, carefully written article, Snow makes no concrete reference to trends within Yugoslavia during 1947 and 1948. He does not mention the opposition of a large part—some have estimated a majority—of the Communist party of Yugoslavia to Tito's regime. He mentions "purges" (a singularly easy word to handle, and now so effectively colored) in Eastern Europe to suppress "nationalist impulses," yet fails to record the inevitable national jingoism which follows in each country emerged from a war, and its enormous danger to peaceful reconstruction. Nor does he mention the repressions of Tito's regime, directed against those who assisted her liberation.

But Snow's article is important, not for its strictures on Soviet nationalism, but as an indication of the approach that will be made by the United States, Britain and other western powers not only towards Yugoslavia and any Eastern European countries showing the same inclination, but to China. Snow himself claims to have found such an inclination in China 10 years ago. "The possibility (of a schism with Russia) first impressed me a decade ago in China," he writes, "where the Communist Party was at that time the only one in the world outside Russia which had an army, territory and real administrative responsibilities of its own." And he continues later in the article: "How is it that no foreign party—with the exception of the Yugoslavia and the Chinese—ever developed a domestic program based upon close objective analysis of the internal needs of its own working class, and continued to defend and advocate it after Moscow had declared against it?"

In this last sentence Snow suggests, in fact states, that the Chinese Communist Party has had to defend its policies against Moscow attacks. This seems unlikely and there have been no indications of it. But perhaps Snow is jumping ahead a little too hastily into his planned future. For he at least presupposes

Soviet opposition to a China whose policies are conditioned to her own specific problems, and whose national consciousness is allowed to develop instead of remaining stunted and dwarfed through the pressure of foreign powers as hitherto.

Such disagreements would be a welcome addition to America's armory. As early as 1945 General Wedemeyer and senior army and navy officers were questioning journalists fresh from visits to Communist China along these very lines, eager to gather any hint of conflict either within the Chinese Communist Party or between Communist China and Soviet Russia. In recent months the ghost has walked the battlements again, muttering vaguely of rivalry between Li Li-san (with his "Russian" support) and Mao Tse-tung, among the generals of the Central China armies, between the Central Executive Committee and Russia.

How, one wonders, does this come about? Solely through the fact that the Chinese Communist Party has grown independently of foreign aid, though not of the lessons of foreign practice of socialism and Marxism? Apparently, yet Soviet pronouncements would hardly support Snow's thesis. For both Joffe and Borodin, the first effective links between China and Soviet Russia, made no bones of their contention that communism could not be applied in unlimited doses to China. And in 1926 Stalin himself wrote that China's future must be "something like the democratic dictatorship of proletarians and peasants about which there had been talk in Russia in 1905, with the difference that it would be essentially anti-imperialist in a transitional period on the way to a Socialist China." The fact that *Pravda* has recently quoted this very passage suggests that Soviet analysts still regard this as true. The recognition of inevitable "anti-imperialist" development, of which nationalism is a concomitant, would indicate that Russia is well aware of the necessity of nationalism in China, and untroubled by it.

* * *

Snow's Position

BUT finally, and most unfortunately, Snow's article democrates how far he has travelled since his brilliant and objective *Red Star Over China* opened the eyes of so many people, even in China, to what was transpiring in Communist territory. His article is characterized by unreason, by a facile use of such meaningless phrases as "universal church" and a poor reading of mythology. One is surprised, too, to see him quoting, presumably as authorities, F. Borkenau, who makes a comfortable living out of attacking his former Comintern colleagues (the temptation is great for the renegade today whether in America or China), and Arnold Toynbee, whose *Study of History* is marred throughout by a passionate conviction that the Church of England is the sum and measure of all civilization. One wonders where Snow himself will end.

Travel Conditions:

A Trip To Changchow

MARK M. LU

ON January 26, the writer left Nanking to make a short visit to Changchow, midway between Nanking and Shanghai. I reached the Hsiakuan Railway station at eight in the morning and fought for a place on the train by entering a window with the help of some fellow travelers, as the doors were blockaded with passengers and luggage.

As a matter of fact, no one even tried to get in through the door because the passengers who were already on the train shut the doors and some of the windows in order to avoid the crowd. Some people smashed the windows in order to get on.

* * *

Train Late

ACCORDING to the time table, the train was scheduled to start at nine in the morning, but because there were so many evacuation trains filled with Government personnel, our train did not leave until half past four that afternoon.

By that time every small corner on the train was filled with people, many even riding on the roofs. When our train reached Chenkiang, five persons were reported to have fallen down and been crushed to death. But this kind of tragic incident happens on almost every train.

At Tanyang, a big station between Chenkiang and Changchow, our train was held up for nearly two hours because two cars of a train ahead of us had been dislocated and had fallen behind somewhere west of Changchow. We finally arrived at Changchow at midnight—nine hours for what should ordinarily be a three and a half hour journey.

* * *

Tang En-po's Base

CHANGCHOW is the city where General Tang En-po, Commander-in-Chief of the Nanking-Shanghai Garrison Headquarters, set up his chief operation base at one point several weeks ago. Big slogans, such as "Salvation of the people by suppression of banditry," and "Reconstruction of the nation by extermination of rebellion," could still be seen everywhere. However, no guards were in evidence at the city gate and only a handful of troops could be found inside the city.

The following morning, I entered a bookstore to look for some new magazines. The attendant asked me what magazine I wanted. "I want to look for peace news," I replied. He shook his head, saying, "The battle should be fought to the end, and no compromise made. Otherwise another battle will break out again in two or three years."

* * *

Sin Yuan Middle School

ABOUT 22 kilometers south of Changchow is the village of Chienhuangchen, where I stayed for three days in the Sin Yuan Middle School. I learned from the teachers there that one of their colleagues, named Yang, had been taken away by the local military authorities just two days before Vice President Li Tsung-jen announced that all political prisoners would be released. Up to the time of my departure, the teacher had not been set free.

The school principal told me that the school had been established nine years ago with 600 mow of fertile land as its property. He said the work would be carried on as usual despite the disturbances of the current situation and the spring term would commence the middle of February.

* * *

Evacuation Trains

ON Janary 30, I prepared to return to Nanking. At the railway station, I found that an armed guard was patrolling the rails in order to avoid any unexpected incidents. At this time, Government evacuation trains were running from Nanking to Shanghai nearly every hour. A local paper reported that all the best equipped trains were going to be transferred to Canton by order of the Ministry of Communications, and that only the second-rate cars would be left.

Suddenly some of the local troops attempted to take away some soldiers of another unit who were passing by, in order to fill up vacancies in their own ranks, and the whole station was plunged into confusion. The same sort of thing has happened recently at the Pukow and Hsiakuan railway stations.

The train pulled in at half past one in the afternoon, and I was back in Nanking by six that evening.

There seem to be three or four times as many trains going from Nanking to Shanghai as from Shanghai to Nanking, and the former are much more crowded than the latter. The station in Nanking has been so congested that some people have ridden by rickshaw or horse carts to the next station, Ho-ping Men, where they board the train coming from Shanghai and then return to Nanking in order to be on the train when it leaves for Shanghai.

Hongkong Tends To Business

Robert J. McGrath

AT the Lunar New Year, Hongkong presented a startling contrast to Shanghai. It could be summed up in a word: order. To one exposed for a long period to Shanghai's ever-increasing chaos, Hongkong seems unbelievably clean, well-run, and peaceful. The population is said to have tripled as compared with pre-war days, living quarters are almost unobtainable, and the streets are certainly bustling. But under the warm sun, the well-dressed shoppers and holiday-makers move along easily, with hardly a trace of the querulous pushing and shoving that characterizes Shanghai street crowds. The streets themselves are wide and vehicular traffic, unencumbered by countless pedicabs, moves rapidly.

At first glance Hongkong seems extremely prosperous; to the visitor it presents block after block of new buildings, mostly apartment houses, both in Kowloon and in Hongkong. From the ferry one can see dozens of new, white structures sprouting on the steep slopes of the Peak. Shipping is heavy, and prices high.

Shadows Of Uncertainty

On this level, there is undoubted prosperity. Real wages have increased an estimated 25 percent as compared with pre-war, the building trades are booming, and high prices for food have benefited the farmer. But many business and official sources express dissatisfaction with the economic picture. They see a speculative building fever, caused in part by the influx of great numbers of wealthy people from central China who obligingly bring their gold with them. They also see the glittering prospects of a vast China trade, once shipping to north China ports becomes legal. But they also see the shadows of uncertainty. The same political change in China, which they hope will make large-scale business possible, will also undoubtedly, sooner or later, have a direct bearing on the Colony itself. The question was, how much business will be allowed, and for how long? Although ships have sailed on charter for northern ports, all manner of goods are piled high, labeled with destinations in North China.

The Government finds itself with greatly increased costs, and higher taxes and public transportation rates have been put through. It is trying to expand its social welfare services, and is carrying out a cooperative marketing scheme for the farmers in the New Territory. It is said that export of food from China to the Colony has been discouraged by Chinese officials, one of the contributing factors to high food prices. So the Government is helping the farmer to plant better varieties and to market more efficiently and cheaply. While the administrative machinery clicks along, and efforts are being made to make it work better, it is almost lightheartedly said that the Colony's special status will come to an end in about five years.

Hongkong, as a more or less undesired by-product of its immunity from Chinese Government authority, has provided a refuge in the past years to political dissidents and refugees, from members of the Democratic League to the extreme left. Now, with the swiftly changing political currents in China, the refugee situation in Hongkong is veering sharply over. The left has largely departed and is giving way to the right, whose representatives arrive daily in accustomed splendor and privilege. If they are so careless as to make public that they are carrying such crass objects as gold bars, the Government is glad to relieve them of their burden, thus lightening that of the general taxpayer.

The Government has kept a watchful eye on the activities of the fraternity of the left, and while not seriously hampering them, it appears that the watch is now being maintained with greater care, especially since the great increase of Communist activity in Southeast Asia.

It is to be expected that the more leftist elements should be resentful of Hongkong's colonial status, and they are. Once the political change on the mainland is complete, they say, Hongkong must be returned to Chinese sovereignty. Curiously enough, they also estimate that this will occur in approximately five years' time. They point out with immense glee the current dismantling of the ornate pedestal, in the park-like area in front of the imposing Hongkong and Shanghai Bank Building, where Queen Victoria in bronze effigy was wont to gaze imperially out over the Bay; the Japanese, in their glory of conquest, lost no time in hustling the statue off to be melted in the services of a rival, and at the moment more successful, imperialism. But now, the Government is removing the pedestal, and states, with dignity, that it has become a traffic hazard.

In what is assumed to be a brief period before the Colony ceases its existence as an imperial adjunct, the chief business remains business. It is the largest entrepot in Asia, with free shipping in and out, where goods may be brought, stored and sent on their way again without any but storage fees to pay. It keeps busy and makes money, largely, it appears, because of this fact. It was explained that a country of Europe, for example, may impose export quotas, and a manufacturer of machines might find that under the quota system he could not send his machines to a certain country. But Hongkong is there: The machines are shipped to Hongkong, then reshipped. The quota is evaded, the manufacturer has supplied his market, and Hongkong makes money.

Eye On Future

Some of the largest banks and shipping lines, with a calculating eye on the future, have been lavishly entertaining certain representatives of the left. At these levels, it is said, business is talked most persuasively by the commercial and financial people, who have thus found themselves in such strange company because what seemed a few months ago to be a future historical possibility has suddenly become almost a present reality. They assume that the new Communist Government of China will need such services as foreign-owned banking and shipping, and are offering definite terms. One of the largest and most influential banks offered to set up shop in Tientsin if the government there would guarantee the personal freedom of its employees, and that a sufficient volume of business would be transacted to make it worthwhile. Toward the end of November, the first chartered ship sailed for Chefoo, and

IPR Conference

THE eleventh international conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations will be held in Australia during August 1950. The Australian Institute of International Affairs will be the host organization and the conference, which will be private and limited to invited members, will be attended by delegates from IPR Councils in the United States, Canada, China, Philippines, India, Pakistan, New Zealand, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, as well as observers or guests from certain other Pacific countries and international agencies. The main topic for discussion will be "Recent Political and Economic Trends in the Far East and their Consequences for the Western World." It is expected that the discussion will cover such questions as nationalism and communism in eastern and southern Asia, the growth of self-government and independence in non-self-governing areas of the Far East, and the effect of American and Soviet policies on Far Eastern countries.

The Institute is a private, non-partisan, international organization established in 1925 for the study of the international relations of Far Eastern and Pacific countries.

other ships have followed. Trade is brisk with Korea, and the economic representatives from both North and South Korea are living happily together in Hongkong. The North Korea representative, it was said, came to the Colony with a long list of goods to be bartered for finished products and machinery.

There is no dearth of fine motor cars, fine food, and good things in the shops; and if business is actually at middling levels, the men of business are most certainly enjoying their indifferent prosperity. It is fortunate that a building spree is in progress, since there is simply no room in a hotel to be had; Government officials live in dormitory space in the YMCA, until enough apartments are put up to house them. Indeed, one civil servant has lived for months with his two sons in a dormitory, while his wife resides in the YWCA. Their apartment, when it is ready for them, will not be a giveaway. Current quotations have the Shanghai key money racket put to shame. Government rent controls apply only to pre-war housing; the proprietors of new dwellings may charge according to present high building costs—and they are not hesitant in charging what the well-heeled traffic will bear. It is reported that key money for a medium-sized flat runs to HK$40,000, with a monthly rental of five or six hundred. A tidy business!

Free Expression

With all the present tensions, Hongkong presents a welcome freedom from the hovering clouds of suspicion, distrust and star chamber proceedings met with elsewhere. All seem quite free to express the most heretical opinions, and a bookstore crammed full of the works of Mao Tse-tung is equally crowded with eager readers, who literally snatch the books from the counters. The whole thing resembles a bargain sale in Macy's basement, and the appearance of a sauntering policeman who gazed in and smiled broadly caused no flicker of interest among the customers. The policeman bought nothing—perhaps, like smoking, it is forbidden on duty.

The overall impression gained from an admittedly brief glimpse of Hongkong is that of a laboratory, possessing undoubted attractions, with the scenery, warm weather, and glitter, but nonetheless a place without interest for a long period, save in the rather special events and people who make them there. These activities of interest wax and wane, or change kaleidoscopically, but they are carried out by those who, like scientists in their workrooms, have no interest in long-term residence—at least, one might say, with their present landlords. It is a quiet and rather pleasant place to work, but so insular and protected from the great events going on in China that the traveler has the impression of being thousands of miles from China's coast. One day, perhaps, after the aforementioned five year period, this might change. At any rate, this is the current quotation.

The Week's Business

TWO heavy jumps were registered in the Shanghai market during the past seven days under review. On February 12, financial quotations increased with gold reaching GY98,000 per ounce. However, because of general precautions taken against the tight money situation expected with the approach of mid-month payments, prices came down on February 14 and the morning of the 15th. On the whole, the money market was comparatively tight during those days. However, in the afternoon of February 15, following the announcement of the cost of living index for the first two week period of February, gold quotations rose again to GY100,000 per ounce.

The market slump early in the week was so marked that gold was quoted as low as GY76,000 at noon on February 14. And the money market was so tight that a few small banks were reported to have found it extremely difficult to meet their obligations. It was also reported that the Central Bank secretly sold 2,000 gold bars in the market, thus causing the local money market to become that much tighter.

This situation, whereby quotations and prices drop from time to time only to shoot up again, is to be expected at the present stage of inflation of the Gold Yuan. With the area for circulation of these notes getting smaller because of Communist victories in the vast area north of the Yangtze River and the issuance of local currencies in Kansu, Szechuan, Hunan, Hupeh, Kwangtung, and other provinces, the Shanghai market is flooded with more and more Gold Yuan notes. This, in turn, causes the skyrocketing of financial quotations and commodity prices.

According to press reports, silver dollar scrip notes have been issued in Changsha, Hunan which are redeemable in silver coins. In Kansu, the Langchow Mint has been ordered to resume operations, and it is expected that silver coins will be issued for circulation there too.

Judging from the fact that neither the people nor the local governments have any faith in Gold Yuan notes, it is expected that depreciation of these notes will be very fast and that prices and quotations in the Shanghai market will increase rapidly.

The general rise of public utility rates by 300 percent during the past week also will serve to increase the cost of production, as well as the cost of living index, and a further increase in public utility rates thus can be anticipated in another two or three weeks.

The dispersal of the Nanking Government has added to Government expenses, which are already very great and must be paid by note issue. At the demand of government bank employees, GY2,000,000,000 was reported to have been distributed to them as "emergency fees" last week. Each person on the staff of the Central Bank, the Bank of China, the Bank of Communications and the Farmers' Bank received between GY150,000 and GY200,000, while the coolies were given GY30,000 to GY40,000 each.

In addition, it must be noted that large sums must have been paid to Government officials in Nanking, especially those whose offices were moved to Canton. Furthermore, the soldiers must be paid. One press report said that for the purpose of boosting the morale of the soldiers, Nanking decided to distribute 35,000,000 pieces of silver dollars to the army, navy, and air forces in the country. Many military trucks are said to have been engaged recently in moving these silver coins from the Bank of China.

Another news item which has caused prices to rise is the report that the Central Bank recently chartered a special CNAC plane to lift many wooden cases from this city to Canton, and it is understood that these cases contained gold bullion.

As things stand now, the Shanghai Securities Exchange will be reopened on February 21 and in addition to the stocks and shares of Chinese companies, Short-term Gold Bonds will be traded. Quotations of stocks and shares generally increased because of the decision to open the Exchange, but so far the rate of increase of these quotations still lags far behind that of gold and foreign exchange.

The cost of living index for the first half month of February, as announced on February 15, was 349 times that of the August 19 level. With the first half month of January, 1949 as the base, the cost of living index for the first half month of February was 7.28 times. The indices for different items were:

Food	8.00
Clothing	5.41
House Rent & Public Utilities	6.12
Miscellaneous	6.99
General Index	7.28

The following table gives a comparison of prices on February 9 and 16:

	Feb. 9 GY	Feb. 16 GY
Gold	70,000	110,000
US Dollar	1,3000	2,000
Clearance Certificate	920	1,500
Silver dollar	1,200	1,600
20's Yarn	225,000	360,000
Rice	6,500	10,000
Wing On Textile.	120,000	200,000

NEWS OF THE WEEK

China Comes Closer Economically But Political Talks Stalemated

THE proposed peace negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists have made little progress during the past week. However, there are indications that Nationalist China and Communist China are getting nearer and nearer in the economic field. It is generally felt that the gradual removal of economic barriers and the steady resumption of normal communication and commerce between Shanghai and Communist-held North China may be useful in obtaining peace from the bottom up.

After much delay and protracted negotiations, the peace mission headed by Dr. W. W. Yen finally left Shanghai for Peiping via Tsingtao on February 13 and arrived at the ancient capital on the afternoon of February 14. Although high hopes were entertained regarding the success of the mission, competent observers do not think that any immediate and concrete results will come of it. However, it is felt the mission may be useful in clarifying the views of both the Nationalists and the Communists on the question of peace. In addition, it is predicted that the question of Shanghai will probably be one of the topics that the mission will discuss with the Communist leaders in Peiping.

The Communists are unlikely to commit themselves to any definite arrangement. Of course, there will be a frank and free exchange of views with the peace mission on a great variety of questions. But the Reds have made it perfectly clear that they are receiving the peace mission as private individuals rather than peace delegates of the Nationalist government.

The peace mission from Nanking has already returned to the capital after an informal conference with Communist mayor Yeh Chien-ying of Peiping. Yeh talked to the members of the mission in separate groups and answered a lot of questions. The general impression of the mission is that the Reds are very sincere about peace but they are rather suspicious of Nanking's peace talks.

Upon its return to Nanking, the mission became a house divided against itself. The mission's spokesman, Professor Wu Yu-hao, claimed that he had been told a number of things by General Yeh Chien-ying, but his statement was promptly denied by all the other members of the mission. Wu was accused of seeking publicity for himself. Since General Yeh Chien-ying met the members of the mission in separate groups, it would surprise no one if one group did not know what the other group had discussed with the Communist mayor.

* * *

Ho May Replace Sun Fo

THE rift between President Li Tsung-jen and Premier Sun Fo has come to a head. Sun is reported to have asked for permission to "take a rest" because of ill health.

Rumors are persistent that the one-time minister of national defense General Ho Ying-chin may be appointed to form a new cabinet. Ho is now back in the capital, at the invitation of President Li.

Events in Nationalist China are moving toward a climax, the result of which probably will be a showdown between the peace advocates and the war mongers. Chen Li-fu is now in Canton, doing his best to prevent Sun Fo from returning to Nanking. General Yen Hsi-shan's surprise visit to Shanghai and Nanking and his conference with Roger D. Lapham, head of the ECA China mission, are regarded as highly significant. It is interesting to recall that the Shansi governor was in Nanking in the troubled days when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was still discussing whether to hang on or to step down.

Refugee Government

IN spite of sharp protests from the Legislative Yuan, Sun Fo has set up his refugee government in Canton, and the rift between Nanking and Canton gives rise to wonder as to whether a central authority is still in existence in Nationalist China. A *UP* story dated Feb. 12 from Nanking read:

"The Chinese Government today is scattered all over the country, with Nanking and Canton standing on opposite sides of the fence in a see-saw battle to piece it together in one place. Many observers are beginning to say that pending the success of the coalescing process the Government may be considered to have lost its entity in all but name. Outwardly there is no serious rift in policy but inwardly there is an undercurrent of psychological estrangement.

"The President is in Nanking, anxiously hoping the Executive Yuan would return to the capital. The Executive Yuan is in Canton, also hoping the President would go there. The Legislative Yuan has not yet decided where to go—whether to stay in Nanking or move to Canton. The Control Yuan is in the same shoes as the Legislative Yuan. The Examination and Judicial Yuan are the forgotten limbs of the body and no one knows where they are or would be located. Chang Po-ling, president of the Examination Yuan, is vacationing in Chungking and Dr. Wang Chung-hui, president of the Judicial Yuan, is somewhere in South China, probably now in Canton....

"It may be described as confusion confounded. What would happen if the need arises for the Government to make an official reply to a Communist broadcast? Li Tsung-jen would have to discuss it by cable or long-distance telephone with the Cabinet in Canton and peace delegates in Shanghai and Lanchow. What would happen if a new ambassador comes? He would go to Canton to see the foreign minister first and come back to Nanking with the protocol director to present his credentials to the Acting President."

The *AP* noted that Sun Fo's independent action has seriously weakened Li Tsung-jen's peace efforts: "Acting President Li Tsung-jen's efforts to persuade the Communists that he can talk peace for all of Nationalist China have been cancelled by independent actions of the refugee government in Canton under premier Sun Fo. Sun is not only organizing resistance — apparently according to a plan laid down by Chiang Kai-shek before his 'retirement'—but is even bidding for outside intervention. Sources close to Li Tsung-jen describe him as most unhappy over Sun's actions which give the impression that the Nationalists are determined to fight on unless the Reds offer a more favorable peace. Last week, Li made an unsuccessful attempt in Shanghai to gain control of General Tang En-po's Shanghai - Nanking - Hangchow garrison troops. He returned to Nanking much disappointed."

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House For Sale

SUN Fo's independent actions, according to press reports, have aroused widespread dissatisfaction. A *United Press* survey of qualified opinion in Nanking shows that Premier Sun Fo's insistence in keeping his Cabinet in Canton may cost him his job. The survey revealed growing criticism of him which could explode into an organized attempt to oust him from the premiership. Qualified Legislative Yuan circles said that despite the evacuation of the Yuan's secretariat to Canton and despite the Canton legislators' appeal to hold the session of the Legislative Yuan there, the majority of the legislators favor staying in Nanking. Several legislators alleged that Sun Fo's chief reason for removing the cabinet to Canton is psychological—fear of Commu-

nist capture or danger to personal safety.

According to *UP*, Sun Fo has done something else to discredit himself. It is reported that Sun ordered the Government-owned Central Bank of China to buy his house in Shanghai for HK$600,000 before he departed for Canton. This seems to indicate that Sun has no thought of ever coming back to Shanghai again.

* * *

All Over Again

NOW that the Central Headquarters of the Kuomintang and its Government have moved to Canton, the Kuomintang is back where it started 23 years ago on its march into the Yangtze to capture power. Twenty-three years is a long time. Its return to the old home indicates that the Kuomintang political experiment has been a complete and miserable failure.

Top leaders of the Kuomintang in Canton are now doing much talking about starting all over again by reviving the revolutionary spirit of the party and by implementing the long forgotten San Min Chu I of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

However, the situation now is vastly different from what it was 23 years ago. It remains to be seen whether the Kuomintang will be able to turn a new leaf with the same group of people who have brought the party to its present state.

The people in Canton, according to press reports, do not like the idea of having to house and feed and support a refugee government.

When Kuomintang elder statesman Tai Chi-tao flew to Canton from Nanking at the end of last December, he was highly optimistic about starting a second revolution from Canton. He was understood to have delivered a series of pep talks to Kuomintang leaders on the bright prospects for a new lease on life for the Kuomintang. But when Sun Fo moved his cabinet to Canton to make preparations for a comeback, Tai became very pessimistic. It was rumored that Tai saw absolutely no hope and finally came to the conclusion that it was all over. So he committed suicide by taking a large dose of sleeping powder.

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American Aid

SUN Fo's refugee government in Canton is looking once again to Washington for help. A government spokesman disclosed that Sun Fo is considering further requests for American aid. Asked whether economic aid could be effectively utilized if the war continues, the spokesman said: "There are many areas of China still under Government control. Economic rehabilitation is most desirable and necessary."

Latest reports from Canton stated that ECA China chief Roger D. Lapham had definitely assured Sun Fo that the United States would do its best to help the Nationalists in South China to continue the fight against the Communists. It was further alleged that a series of concrete measures have been decided upon for the training of new armies and for industrial rehabilitation.

As part of this policy, the ECA has closed down its offices in Communist-held North China and is diverting all supplies to Taiwan and South China. The Chinese press disclosed that a high-ranking officer of the Chinese Ministry of National Defense recently visited Tokyo to discuss with General Douglas MacArthur the shipment of war materials to China. In this connection, it will be interesting to recall that General David Barr, former chief of the Joint United States Military Advisory Group, is now working on the staff of General MacArthur.

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British To Play Ball

IN sharp contrast to American policy, the British have taken great care not to provoke the Chinese Reds and have indicated their interest in cooperating with a new regime.

The British-owned *Far Eastern Economic Review* openly attacked the US policy of continuing to bolster up the Nationalist regime. The magazine wrote:

"Despite these facts, the United States until recently still poured out money and aid to Nationalist China, even though the true character of the Kuomintang machine was fully realized in Washington. The Communists, in contrast, have conducted themselves most credibly and have succeeded in impressing foreigners and their own people with the discipline and efficiency of their rule."

Latest reports from London indicated that representatives of important British interests in China approached the Foreign Office and stressed the unwisdom of any action which would be provocative to the Chinese Communists. A spokesman for one representative body said reports from most North China centers were very encouraging. He cited the reopening of the British-American Tobacco Company in Tientsin and said it was hoped British banks in North China would be allowed to reopen for business before long. Business interests indicated that they had long anticipated the Communist domination of North China and adequate preparations had been made. As an example, they cited the British-owned Kailan Mines, which was back in full production in Communist territory. Some British business representatives were believed making every effort in their contacts with the Foreign Office to assure full British recognition of the Mao Tze-tung Government. Some sources in London indicated the belief that Britain's position under the new regime is likely to benefit possibly at the expense of American popularity.

It is an open secret that Washington is doing its best to prevent Britain and the other Western Powers from dealing separately with the Chinese Communists. The United States, Britain and France reportedly are holding conversations on a joint approach on the question of what to do with the Communist regime in China.

Competent foreign observers in Nanking are of the opinion that it is possible that foreign powers can be persuaded to shift their recognition from the Nationalist regime to a Chinese coalition government if and when one is formed. However, it is pointed out that the following three factors will determine the issue: 1) the foreign policies of the new government and especially its attitude toward international trade and existing treaties, 2) the type of political system the new government is going to be based on and 3) the extent of civil rights it is going to grant the people.

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UN Mediation

THE idea of United Nations mediation in China's civil war met with varied reaction in China. The suggestion was put forth by Australia's foreign minister, Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, who said: "In the case of China where a long and tragic war convulsed the nation and delayed rehabilitation and restoration to which its long suffering people are justly entitled, it would, in my judgment, be strictly in accordance with United Nations principles to assist mediation in an attempt to bring about agreed peace which would save countless lives."

Sun Fo hastened to welcome Evatt's proposal as the only practical way of bringing about a settlement and expressed hope the proposal would be acceptable to the Chinese Communists. Sun recalled that, with a view to securing a third party as intermediary in an attempt to achieve peace, the Chinese Government several weeks ago delivered identical notes to Big Four. If the United Nations could take up the matter, it would serve a similar purpose, Sun said.

United Nations mediation, however, was rejected by the Communists. A Communist spokesman said that neither the United Nations nor any foreign government has any right whatsoever to interfere in China's domestic affairs. He continued: "The proposal of the Australian foreign minister is absurd and an insult to the Chinese people....The shameful statements of the Kuomintang's traitorous reactionary clique, Sun Fo, Pang Kung-chan and the like, are nothing more than an expression of their consistent traitorous position."

Leading foreign powers were rather cool toward any idea of United Nations mediation in the Chinese mess, pointing out that they do not see any reason why the United Nations could act successfully, since the organization is already a house divided against itself.

In Nanking, qualified observers opined that any attempt of the United Nations to mediate in China at this stage of the civil war might embarrass, rather than assist, President Li Tsung-jen in his endeavors to negotiate a peace with the Communists.

It is also pointed out that so far the United Nations has deliberately refrained from having its fingers burned in Chinese affairs in spite of strong pressure from certain quarters to bring up the issue for discussion.

Chinese Magazine Roundup

China Reconstruction

PROFESSOR Chi Chih-sen writes in the *China Reconstruction* of February 10 on the timely question of peace, pointing out that it is of great importance to expose false peace.

"When the bandit-suppression campaign was in full swing, it was treasonous to talk about peace," he says. "Now the Government authorities not only permit the people to talk about peace but also do much loud talking themselves. But it is easy to see that they have their own way of talking about peace and the people are required to follow their line of reasoning. As a matter of fact, we have plenty of peace-mongers who are seeking to sell their cheap ware.

"These peace mongers may be classified into three categories. To the first category belong those people who are seeking to fish in troubled waters. They have not got anything in the past and they are now anxious to take advantage of the present opportunity to do good business. The second category counts among its members many people of the 'have' group. Being terribly afraid lest they should lose what they have, these people are indulging in peace talk in order to safeguard their own interests. They are like a bunch of insurance brokers. The third category consists of political opportunists and speculators who want to deal in peace to make money.

"The above-mentioned categories represent three types of peace mongers. It is the Chinese *lao pai hsing* who want genuine peace. But under present conditions, the *lao pai hsing* cannot and dare not speak their mind. Therefore it is small wonder that there has been very little honest discussion on peace these days.

"Any free and honest discussion on the question of peace must make a point of showing up the hypocritical peace talk of the peace mongers and of fighting for a genuine peace. In order to attain this goal, there are three prerequisites. First is the elimination of the many obstacles that stand in the way of peace. As long as the people who oppose peace remain in power, so long will it be impossible to achieve peace. For this reason I consider as reasonable the Communist demand for punishment of war criminals. Besides, the reactionary government must be destroyed and the many measures it has taken (such as conscription, requisitioning of foodstuffs, etc.) be abolished. Second, peace must begin with the Chinese people. The question of who works for peace is very important. We cannot afford to let the peace mongers take the peace business into their hands. Third, we must have strength to safeguard genuine peace. No genuine peace is possible unless there is in existence a strong democratic government."

The apple on the tree, in this cartoon from the LU PING HAN, is labelled "rumor" and the ripe apple on the ground a "fact." The Chinese caption read: "Some are ripe and some are not."

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Outlook

THE *Outlook Weekly* of February 12 charges that a careful analysis of the recent political developments in China leaves no one in doubt regarding the fact that the United States has been doing the wire-pulling all along.

According to the magazine, there are two schools of thought so far as American policy in China is concerned. One is called the straight-line school, the other, the curved-line school. "The first school," it says, "represents the army and navy, which advocates backing Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's Government to the end by enlarging the American military advisory group, by directing the operations against the Reds and by direct armed intervention, if necessary, in favor of the Nationalists. Leading representatives of this school are General Douglas MacArthur, General Albert C. Wedemeyer, Admiral Oscar Badger, General Claire Chennault and Representative Walter Judd. The second school is represented by a good number of career diplomats of the State Department, who are also for backing up Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, but who insist that the United States must keep other cards ready when it becomes necessary to choose between keeping Chiang in the saddle and bolstering the whole political structure.

"Proponents of the curved-line school reason that the United States should of course support Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. But when this policy has proved impossible, the United States should shift its attention to the local feudalistic forces such as General Fu Tso-yi in North China, General Pai Chung-hsi in Central China and the generals of the Ma family in the Northwest. In fighting Communism, military operations are preferred, but when the military methods have failed, peace offensives should be launched.

"ECA boss Paul G. Hoffman and the American press have significantly stressed that American aid to China would continue if any new Chinese regime still remains an element of the democratic camp in China. According to the dictionary used by the American expansionists, the so-called democratic camp is a synonym for anti-Soviet front. Such being the case, it is not hard to understand why there has been much loose talk about the possibility of Mao Tze-tung's becoming a Tito in the Far East.

"However, we cannot lightly dismiss this as American wishful thinking. This kind of talk reveals that the United States is up to a deep game. In other words, the United States is planning to organize a strong opposition and to infiltrate into the ranks of the revolutionary government to bore from within. It is only to be expected that incidents will be manufactured by foreign spies to damage Sino-Soviet relations and to fan the flames of narrow-minded nationalism in China.

"It is against this background that the present peace movement has come into existence. When Sun Fo was appointed to form a cabinet, American Ambassador Stuart lost no time in holding a series of conferences with Sun. It was rumored at the time that the ambassador presented Sun with two demands—the step-down of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and resumption of peace negotiations with the Chinese Communists. Unless these two demands were accepted, the United States would not give any more aid to China, the ambassador warned Sun Fo. Sun hurriedly summoned his ministers to an emergency meeting to discuss the American demands. After much discussion and wrangling, it was finally decided to tell the Generalissimo about it. But Sun was afraid of breaking the news to Chiang. So his second in command, General Wu Te-chen, was assigned the tough job. When Wu went to see the Generalissimo, he first tried to beat about the bush. Finally he made bold to tell the Generalissimo that it was physically impossible to continue the war any longer and that it was necessary to make peace. Whereupon, the Generalissimo got mad. Wu then told the whole story of the conference between Sun Fo and the American ambassador. Then, Chiang kept silent for a while and said that he would think the matter over."

The magazine further charges that American intervention has a great deal to do with Chiang's temporary retirement and General Li Tsung-jen's take-over in Nanking.

In view of the dramatic developments in the Chinese situation since the departure of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the United States, the magazine asserts, is attaching more and more attention and importance to helping Chiang Kai-shek build up a base in Taiwan to continue the war with the Chinese Communists.

US Magazine Roundup

The Nation

JOHN King Fairbank, in an article entitled "Toward a New China Policy" in the January 1 issue of *The Nation* urges the United States to distinguish between communism and social revolution in China. Dr. Fairbank says Paul Hoffman's statement that the US might continue economic aid to China "if a de facto government of the people were set up that met all conditions for receiving our aid" is a step in the right direction toward a more constructive China policy. He explains:

"The argument, based on the analogy of Eastern Europe, that a Communist-dominated coalition is bound to develop into a police state is too readily applied to a coalition in China. Unless we propose to turn our backs on China entirely, we have to assess the possibility of a Chinese coalition remaining for some time in a more malleable condition, less firmly in the Communist pattern than might be expected in a smaller and more centralized country closer to Russia. In other words, we may have more time than we think to pursue a constructive policy designed to support freedom within China. This more constructive policy, however, requires us to make a distinction between the Chinese Communist movement and the Chinese social revolution. Failure to distinguish between these two aspects of change in the Chinese scene has left Americans bickering with one another for many months past."

Americans who approached China by way of Europe, Dr. Fairbank says, have stressed the genuinely Communist nature of the Chinese party's ideology and practice, while Americans who approach the China problem primarily from a background of on-the-spot observation among the Chinese people have stressed the vitality of the new popular movements—"the sincerity of the students, the awakening of the peasantry, the morale of the Communist troops, and the idealism of Communist cadres of party organizers—in comparison with the sorry demoralization visible on every hand under the established regime."

During the last year, he continues, opinion in the US has been influenced by those American observers who stress the pattern of international communism in China, while opinion in China has gone the other way, "toward acquiescence in a Chinese Communist accession to power as the only escape from the deepening crisis of inflation, stoppage of production, scarcity, breakdown of services, and utter demoralization of the National Government, its armies, and its administrators."

In discussing the Communists, the author points out that while there is no basis for "divorcing Chinese communism from international communism as a worldwide movement bent on the extension of its power," it must be noted that the strength of the Chinese Communist power lies in "its alignment with the forces of social revolution," a fact which Americans need to understand if they are to understand China. "The great achievement of the Chinese Communist apparatus" he says, "has been not so much to create this revolution as to capture its leadership and control it."

Pointing out that such things as "the possibilities of modern travel and communication, the reform of the language and the use of the vernacular in writing," have tended to bring the "potentialities of modern life" closer to the peasant village in China, Dr. Fairbank says: "It is here, in short, that the Chinese Communists have found the key to political power, for they have been the first to capitalize upon the opportunities which have gradually accumulated for giving the peasant literacy, improving his farm technology, 'liberating' his thinking from its old narrow village confines, and so organizing him in a new structure of political power."

The author declares that these social changes are not of Communist invention or monopoly. They are "revolutionary," he says, "but, they are not necessarily made in Moscow. Many were sparked by Western missionaries. Few Americans would like to expend our resources in the effort to suppress them. Yet we must ruefully admit that Chinese communism on the whole has turned them to its uses, or organized their potentialities, more effectively than its rival the Kuomintang."

Dr. Fairbank concludes: "This means that American policy must be, as Mr. Hoffman's statement on the continuation of ECA in China would imply, to align ourselves more positively and actively with social change in China of the type we really believe in, even though we find ourselves running parallel to or even 'getting in bed with' Chinese communism. In its present phase of development the Chinese Communist movement must base its appeal in part on principles of 'liberation' and mass welfare to which most Americans would subscribe—not, however, by calling the Chinese Communists 'mere agrarian reformers.' The nature of communism as an organized effort to acquire and keep power makes us doubt that its various promises can be realized in China any more than was the case in Russia. But in China, to a more obvious degree than in Eastern Europe, we are confronted by a genuine national and social revolution, not just a made-in-Moscow drive for the seizure of power. Our policy, therefore, to have any hope of success, must take into account the powerful social forces behind the Chinese revolution as well as its Communist ideology."

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US News & World Report

IN a special report from London, *US News & World Report* in its January 7 issue, discusses "How a 'Socialized' Briton Feels." The article declares that while British business has no love for socialism, it is learning to live with it and that, while private profits have been curbed, most people of means are not as unhappy as they expected.

A coal mine owner, for example, the article says, who said in 1945 that he was "through" because the Government was going to take over his business, is still on the job working on salary, not as an owner living on profits. He is convinced that there is no turning back from socialism, no chance that he will get his mine back from the Government, which now owns or operates about one-fifth of the country's business, including its coal, power, transport, steel and iron industries.

He finds there are certain advantages, according to the article, in that he no longer need worry about profit and loss and he now has the security of a Government job; his income is pretty close to what it was before his business was taken over, and the operational end of the mine is still pretty much in his hands. He is accountable, however, to his regional supervisor and to the National Coal Board in London, to whom he must submit accounts, suggest changes to improve production and hit the output targets set for the mine or explain why he failed.

With regard to socialized medicine, the article says, "Everyone who wants it gets free medical treatment. The public likes it, men in the professions are divided."

Doctors and dentists who worked in slum or poor districts find that they are earning more, the magazine reports, but those who had well-to-do patients are making less than before.

"On the whole," the article says, "though many doctors and dentists are pleased with their experience in socialized medicine, they fear that more socialism is to come. They still can pick and choose patients, if they like, but they do not want to be salaried employees working in Government clinics, as in Russia. They are afraid they may be headed in that direction."

The steelmaker who owns and operates a small foundry, the corporation executive of a chemical industry, and the London banker do not like socialism, the magazine finds. They would prefer free enterprise, and "they view socialism as a major upset in their way of life, but they accept the upset as a reality, not just a theory, and are making their adjustments accordingly."

What Chinese Papers Say

KUOMINTANG-controlled papers welcomed the prospect of United Nations mediation in China's civil war, as suggested by the Foreign Minister of Australia, and looked upon the evacuation of Sun Fo's Cabinet to Canton as a step with positive significance.

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UN Mediation

THE army organ *Ho Ping Jih Pao* argued that foreign mediation was both necessary and advisable in order to prevent the civil war in this country from giving rise to another world war.

"The proposal of the Australian Foreign Secretary has been made wholly on humane considerations," the paper said. "China had gone through a long period of war in which she held up more than a million Japanese troops who were prevented from perpetrating their nefarious acts of aggression in other parts of the world. This was certainly a great contribution of the Chinese people to the world cause. The Chinese people underwent suffering themselves so that the world might be benefited. Thus, when the Australian Foreign Secretary brought up the China issue, people immediately recalled the past sufferings of the Chinese people and their tragic fate. The United Nations, in the interests of human welfare, should really come to our aid and help us to settle the issue.

"Moreover, the civil war in China is actually not a civil war. Everyone knows that it is not a so-called war for the liberation of the people. Frankly speaking, the war was brought about by very complicated international factors. If this civil war is allowed to continue, there will come a day when the war will be changed into an international war, or even lead to a third world war. The Australian Foreign Secretary has now proposed that the United Nations mediate in the China war so that it may be peacefully settled. From the world standpoint, this act is surely one which will be instrumental in saving the world, saving humanity, and saving world civilization."

The paper saw no reason why the Chinese Communists should oppose United Nations mediation, because the United Nations in the eyes of the paper is an impartial world organization, which is not expected to discriminate against either side.

"It is also necessary to point out," the paper added, "that the United Nations is the organization participated in by all nations in the world. It must therefore be an impartial organization, and will undertake mediation impartially and justly and by reasonable procedure. Whoever opposes UN mediation is not sincere in seeking peace. The proposal of the Australian Foreign Secretary must therefore be welcomed by the Chinese Government, and should not be opposed by the Chinese Communists."

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Flight To Canton

THE Kuomintang mouthpiece *Chung Yang Jih Pao* expressed the opinion that the removal of the Executive Yuan from Nanking to Canton "is fraught with positive significance," saying:

"The modus operandi of the Communists today consists of, on the one hand, the use of military pressure on the Capital to force the Central Government to accept a dictated peace, and on the other, the carrying out of a political offensive in inducing various local areas, under the so-called principle of localized peace, to surrender to them so that they would achieve their war aims without fighting. In order to be free from military threat, to show its determination to reject a dictated peace, and to continue its struggle for the independence of the nation and the freedom of the people, the Government has moved to another place to continue its functions. Premier Sun has already explained this point fully, and there is no need for us to elaborate further."

The paper advised the Legislative Yuan to follow the example of the Executive Yuan and move without further delay to Canton.

"There is great divergence of opinion among members of the Legislative Yuan over the venue of the next session of the Yuan," it said. "It is our view that since the Executive Yuan is functioning in Canton, it will be more appropriate for the Legislative Yuan to meet in Canton also. The Legislative Yuan is the organ which makes national policies on behalf of the people, and it is obvious that such an organ should not hold its meetings in an area open to the military threat of the Communists."

The paper then criticized those who want to make peace at any price, saying:

"The successful realization of peace depends on bilateral agreement, and not on the unilateral surrender of the Government. If the Government is to surrender, it must first give up its arms, and bend its knees. What the Government is now striving for is the opening of negotiations on the basis of equality, and the realization of nation-wide peace. Before the realization of peace, all military preparations and operations cannot be suspended.

"We must make a clean sweep of the conception now current in political and public circles of offering property to the invader so as to be accepted as his slave. The Communist Army has not yet crossed the Yangtze, and already there are people in the areas south of the River who are planning to offer their property to the Communists so as to be accepted as slaves. They not only intend to surrender themselves, but also attempt to persuade other people into surrendering, and prevent others from working for the salvation and the defense of the country, so that their own political capital may be increased to provide them a better chance of being accepted as slaves. Such attempts 'to pull other people into the water' are as shameless as the desire to surrender oneself to the enemy."

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War Measures

THE *Ta Kung Pao* suggested that the Government should terminate some of the war measures now that it has appealed to the Communists for peace.

"Recently," the paper said, "the district councils of various localities have been appealing to the Government for the suspension of conscription and food requisitioning. At the meeting held a few days ago in Shanghai of the chairmen of hsien councils of the various districts in southern Kiangsu, a resolution was adopted to request the Government to annul the current conscription laws and to reduce the land tax, while opposition was also expressed against the requisitioning of food by military authorities. The case of the people was very aptly stated by Mr. Lu Chao-chi, Chairman of the Chinkiang Hsien Council, when he said: 'The common people have been imposed on by burdens that are too heavy for them to shoulder. If today we ask the people from the rural districts to come to speak to us, I am afraid they will be speechless and only shed tears.' Governor Chen Chien of Hunan has also telegraphically requested the Central Government to suspend conscription in his province for one year, and he has issued instructions to the district magistrates in the province to hold up the work of conscription for one month, pending instructions from the Central authorities.

"In our view, conscription and food requisitioning have been carried out for the purpose of fighting the war, and now that peace is being sought, these measures are due for reconsideration. Even from the economic viewpoint alone, since there is general depression in the rural districts, it may be worth while to consider the temporary suspension of conscription so as to prevent able-bodied men from running away from their homes. As to food requisitioning, if it cannot be abolished immediately, at least a reshuffle of the food administrative personnel should be effected, so that extortion may be eliminated and the sufferings of the people slightly reduced."

What US Papers Say

THE American press continued to ruminate on the best approach for US policy to take in China. Editorial comment also focused on the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary and on the "Tokyo Spy Ring" report issued by General MacArthur.

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Clean-cut Statement

THE *New York Times* declared that "what many Americans want now is a clean-cut statement of US policy in respect to China." The paper asked: "What do we propose to do about recognition? What about future aid? It is understandable that military conditions in China have been changing rapidly in the past six months. But issues . . . will soon require our government to take more definite positions."

The *Times* added: "The American public as a whole, we believe, has been convinced that the people of China, under Chiang, have suffered from grave abuses. But there is no reason to believe that the same public is convinced that a Communist government of China would be an improvement."

The *Christian Science Monitor* said that "one of the chief aims of American policy must be to show the people of China that the US is their friend—and friend of any government which will genuinely serve the people's interest."

Discussing the withdrawal of US Marines from Tsingtao, the *Louisville Courier-Journal* said this should be "significant proof not merely that we are writing off the Nationalists as lost, but of our determination to avoid a dangerous situation that might over-night explode into a shooting war with the Chinese Communists." The paper added: "We are well advised to write off Tsingtao along with two-billions-plus in post-war aid to the Nationalists. The Chinese Communists, for their part, have demonstrated to date heartening willingness to avoid trouble with the US."

The *Kansas City Times*, speculating on the nature of the future Chinese government, declares: "From the standpoint of the non-Communist world, the best hope is that China, with its ways and complex traditions, proves too much for absorption into the pattern of control extended by Russia over Hungary, Czechoslovakia and most of the Balkan states."

The *New York Herald Tribune* also wondered how completely the Communists would be able to control such a large and complex country as China, saying: "Most authorities are convinced that the Communists will control all major regions of the country within a few months or, at most, a year. How long their control will last is another matter. The Reds have exploited all resentment against Nanking that could be found in China but will arouse similar resentment against themselves if they are unable—as generally expected—to solve the economic and political problems that proved too complex for Chiang."

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Trial Of A Cardinal

MOST papers viewed the conviction of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary and 15 Protestant clergy in Bulgaria as part of a concerted assault on all Christian churches by the Communist governments of Eastern Europe.

The *Washington Daily News* said editorially: "The 'lynch court' treatment of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary obviously was more than an isolated attack upon either an individual or a single institution. It followed earlier action against Bishop Lajos Ordas of the Hungarian Lutheran church . . . The usual statement that all the accused had 'fully confessed to spy charges accompanied announcement of the indictments. That has been the window dressing for Red purges since Andrei Vishinsky set the precedent in Russia in 1937.

"The victims of the Bulgarian dragnet have known the hell of the police state torture chamber more than a month,—long enough to be persuaded to sign anything the prosecution submits. The attack on the churches in Bulgaria has been broadened by naming as alleged accomplices of the accused, distinguished foreign clergymen and educators."

The paper felt the action of the regime at Sofia was a confession of weakness. "A strong state," it said, "would have no fear of such a small, law-abiding minority. Its (Bulgaria's) puppet tyrants are afraid, and because of that fear they seek to crush all independent thought, and all outside contact with enlightenment and truth. Such dictatorships supported by fear and terrorism are built on sand; given time, these regimes collapse of their own rottenness. The tragedy is that, in that slow process, the innocent must suffer."

The *Philadelphia Inquirer*, in an editorial attack titled, "The Red Offensive Against All Religious Creeds," said, "The drive now stands revealed for what it is—an attack on the freedom of worship itself, on the right of men to guide their lives by teachings . . . free of Communist ideology . . . (without) pressures by the Politburo.

"Once again," the *Inquirer* continued, "the world is witnessing an application of brute force against men attempting to live by conviction. But at least the issue is now clear: Russian Communism and religious liberty are incompatible."

Wen Wei Pao, Hongkong

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Spy Ring

COMMENTING on the "Tokyo Spy Ring" report released by General MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo, the *Inquirer* declared the significance of the report lies in the inadequacy of United States defense against espionage. "No better opportunity," it said, "has been given Americans to study the organization pattern of Soviet espionage—and to plan defenses against it—than that afforded by the report on the Red spy ring which operated in Japan prior to October, 1941 . . . There is no general agreement concerning the extent to which this new form of espionage succeeded in Washington, although in Tokyo it was amazingly successful. The alleged head of this ring, Dr. Richard Sorge, apparently was able to warn Moscow of the strength, timing and direction of the German attack on Russia in 1941, and of the Japanese decision to move against the United States and Britain rather than against the Soviet army to the north.

"The Army's warning that remnants of this ring may still be operating in the world's capital is a disquieting reminder that, in spite of all the revelations of the existence of wartime Russian espionage in Washington, nothing concrete has yet been done to enable America to deal promptly and firmly with a new type of foreign agent."

The *Christian Science Monitor* observed that the "release at this time of a long known case prepared by Japan's wartime government, augmented by postwar investigations of American intelligence, has a political significance not to be overlooked."

The paper continued: "Put back into earlier context, the melodrama becomes a story of Allied espionage against any enemy nation during the war. In today's context, it becomes either one more weapon of hysteria or an added summons to altertness. . . Certainly the present disclosure, based in part on a Japanese police case which can hardly be taken at face value, is only a segment of the story."

The Review's English Lesson—LXXI

AS many of our readers are interested in journalism, we shall discuss a recent *Time Magazine* story (February 7 issue, pp. 13 ff.), devoted to China's Civil War and especially to Mao Tse-tung. This story demonstrates how words can be used to convey a desired effect without actually stating anything openly.

It had been the year of the Rat—and the year of the Communists. This opening sentence, by the close juxtaposition of "Rat" and "Communists," leaves the reader with an unfavorable impression of "Communists," without stating explicitly that the latter are "rats."

The Communist troops marched into Peiping, having **left their Russian trucks outside the city, displaying only the US ones which they had captured from Chiang's armies.** Notice that this sentence does not state directly that the Russians had given the Communists Russian trucks, but it strongly suggests this, thus implementing the line that the Communists have been receiving Russian aid.

The paragraph continues its description of the parade with, **Beneath pictures of Communist Boss Mao Tse-tung (none of Joseph Stalin), sound trucks blared....** "Boss" is a slangy term, used here in the sense of "leader." The word is widely used in an uncomplimentary way, as in referring to a dishonest political leader in the American scene. "Blared" means "sounded loudly and harshly." The phrase in parenthesis suggests that there should have been pictures of Stalin, because of the implied close relationship between Russian and Chinese Communism. (The reader is left free to suppose that Stalin's pictures were left outside the city in the Russian trucks.)

Referring to a Communist radio broadcast, the story goes on to say that **there could be no peace before the government had demonstrated its "sincerity" by handing over "war criminals."** The use of quotation marks, as here, is for the purpose of casting doubt upon the truth or reliability of the user of the word or phrase thus set apart. In this instance, the reader is given the impression that handing over war criminals obviously is no test of real sincerity, and that, furthermore, the war criminals are only so-called. See also the passage where Mao Tse-tung is described as trying to correspond with those who thought as he did. Four replied to his appeal and, the story continues, **Three of them later turned out to be "reactionaries."** The quotes here cast doubt upon the validity of Mao's judgment of these three. Still further on, we find: **Chiang Kai-shek, by then China's dominant figure, sent his armies against the southern Soviet "republic."** .... (e.g., in south China.) Here, of course, the inference is that they were not republics at all.

To finish with the news story, toward the end we find: **Chiang Kai-shek was staying in his native village of Fenghua, from which he had set out 43 years ago to fight for China's freedom.** This sentence immediately follows one describing how the Communist radio stated that Chiang must be immediately arrested, as he might possibly escape abroad. To produce the desired effect, it combines the two ideas of Chiang's quietly remaining in his native village, and of his having fought "for China's freedom."

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IN the first paragraph of the story on Mao Tse-tung, it is described how he is redrawing the world map **with an iron pen dipped in blood.** These images, evoking in the reader's mind the idea of bloody strength, again produce an unpleasant impression; the meaning is that Mao Tse-tung is adding China to the domain of world Communism.

In describing Mao Tse-tung's youth, the story has this sentence: **Unlike many another farm lad who later followed him, and died for the rice and the faith he offered, young Mao never knew hunger.** It is interesting how the idea of Chinese Communism as a religious faith is suggested by the use of "followed him" (e.g., as a religious leader) and "died for the.... faith he offered...." Also, it is suggested that Mao Tse-tung has had an easy time of it, leaving it up to others to make sacrifices.

In describing how Mao Tse-tung set up his headquarters on Chingkan Shan in Kiangsi, at the time peopled by bandits and Buddhist monks, **Mao chased away the monks, welcomed most of the bandits into the party, and settled down....** The writer does not flatly state that Mao Tse-tung is anti-religious or that his party is made up of bandits, but these two ideas are here quite firmly planted in the reader's mind.

In speaking of the Long March, the story says, **Thus began what the Chinese Communists consider their great epic—the Long March.** From the clause, "what the Chinese Communists consider," the reader is made to doubt that it was very much of an epic, after all, except in the minds of the Communists.

* * *

IN reporting newsworthy happenings, or in telling a story, there is of course no such thing as "complete objectivity." Unconsciously or not, every reporter shows something of his background and bias in his work. Most usually, this is done by selection: Those facts agreeable to the writer's attitude are presented, others are omitted or glossed over. (Occasionally facts may be deliberately changed, of course.) In the story under consideration, a paragraph tells of the united front of 1937—and the following paragraph tells of the defeat of Japan in 1945. The role the Communists played in fighting Japan is completely omitted, while their effort to take over vast areas and Japanese arms at the end of the war is mentioned. Thus, the reader receives the impression that the Communists not only did very little fighting against the Japanese, but also were bold and dishonest enough to claim some of the fruits of victory at war's end.

On the more personal level, the story presents ideas which, to most Western readers, are funny. Thus, **For many years, Mao's official vehicle was an ambulance donated by the American Chinese Hand Laundry Association.** The impression is that of a powerful political leader riding about in a laundry wagon, as the reader tends to forget "ambulance" and remembers "Chinese Hand Laundry Association," and the resulting scornful laughter is of course directed at Mao Tse-tung. The story creates a similar impression by pointing out how Mao Tse-tung and General Chu Teh were to be seen **in the road with baskets and small shovels, picking up animal droppings to fertilize the fields.** Further, Mao Tse-tung is alleged to be a heavy smoker and drinker—until "his doctors made him slow up"—and **hypochondriac** (one who constantly imagines himself ill).

The story is accompanied by pictures, among them of **Wife No. 3** and.... **Wife No. 4**, which gives the impression that Mao Tse-tung has an unbecoming interest in women. For a different treatment of this same idea, we refer our readers to the January 31 issue of *Time*, p. 20 **People**, part of which we quote:

> "In Fort Lee, N.J., pudgy Nightclubber George Ross, 32, was married to onetime Cinemactress Arline Judge, 36, who has, at one time or another, been married to Director Wesley Ruggles, Sportsman Dan Topping, Ad Executive Vincent Morgan Ryan, R.A.F. Captain James Addams, and Bob Topping, Dan's brother (who is now married to Lana Turner)."

Pudgy means stout, fat, dumpy; a **Nightclubber** is a rich young man whose main aim of life in the pursuit of pleasure in night clubs; and a **Cinemactress** is a movie star. (*Time* likes to contract a phrase like this into a single word).

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